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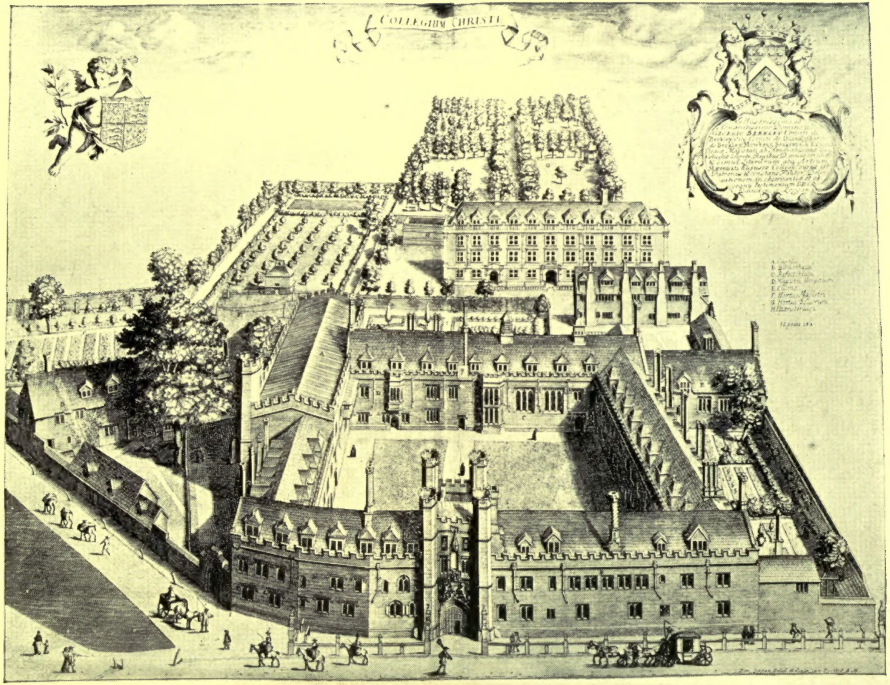

VIEW BY LOGGAN (*c.* 1688)

Plate I

University of Cambridge

COLLEGE HISTORIES

CHRIST'S COLLEGE

BY

JOHN PEILE, LITT.D.

MASTER OF THE COLLEGE

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PREFACE

In compiling these imperfect annals of the College, I have used all the unpublished material that is known to me, especially that which is stored in our Muniment Room. The College account-books are complete from 1530, except for the years 1639-45. From these I have recovered the names of all the Fellows after 1530, and the length of their tenure within a quarter of a year. I have got from other sources the names of most of those who were Fellows during the preceding twenty-five years. More light than might be supposed is thrown on the history of the College by the items of miscellaneous expenditure (*expensa forinseca*) which conclude each half-yearly account. I have got something from the contents of the "Visitors' Drawer" (the decrees and interpretations of successive Visitors of the College), and from the Lease Books and numerous documents which relate to College estates; with these I could

have done little but for the valuable catalogue made by Adam Wall, Fellow 1756-98, whose name deserves most grateful record (see p. 254). I have also made constant use of his MS. volumes in the University Library (Mm. v. 40-52), of which one deals exclusively with God's House and four with Christ's College. A little parchment book, written by Dr. Cudworth to aid him in his bursarial labours, gives a good account of the College property at the middle of the seventeenth century; a fuller work on the same subject was commenced only by Dr. Towers about 1730. I have drawn something from MS. sources at the University Registry, especially 92 (1 and 2), and *Misc.*, 6, 7; these relate wholly to Christ's College. The Matriculation and Degree Books at the same place have been useful for my present purpose, but more for a Biographical Register of the members of the College from 1505-1900, at which I have worked for several years, following the example of Dr. Venn, whose Register of Gonville and Caius College is a monument of accurate and exhaustive research. At the British Museum I have gone carefully through the Cole MSS., and have consulted the Baker MSS.; I spent much time over Mead's inimitable letters (MS. Harl., 389, 390), see p. 134. The Master and Fellows of Sidney Sussex kindly allowed me to make full use of Samuel Ward's Diary (see p. 107). The Bishops' registers in the several English dioceses have given me matter rather for the Register

than for this work; as have also some of Mr. Joseph Foster's collections which I have been allowed to consult.

Of published matter of the same sort I have found the *Calendar of State Papers* (*Domestic*) especially useful; I wish that more volumes had been published. I have used the *University and College Documents*; Lamb's *Documents from the MSS. Library of Corpus Christi College*; Heywood and Wright's *Cambridge University Transactions*; and several others.

Turning to more general works, I have to express—like all other labourers in this field—my obligation to C. H. Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses* and *Annals of Cambridge*; it is hard to say which is the more useful. Not less is my debt to Mr. Mullinger's *History of the University*; and the Registrary's *Architectural History* has been indispensable. For special periods of University history I think that I owe most to Strype's various works; to the *Douai Diaries* and Foley's *Records of the Society of Jesus*; to Brook's *History of the Puritans*; to Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*; to Calamy-Palmer's *Nonconformist Memorial*; to Kingston's *East Anglia and the Civil War*; to David's *Nonconformity in Essex*, and similar books for other counties; to Worthington's *Diary*; to Tulloch's *Rational Theology in England*, vol. ii.; to Wordsworth's *University Life in the Eighteenth Century*; to Meadley's *Life of Paley*; to Gunning's *Reminiscences*;

and last, not least, to the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Of the faults of this little book no one can be more conscious than I am. It is no valid excuse for them that I am a novice in historical work. I may say that I have spared no pains. But the errors already detected are more than sufficient to make it plain to me how many must have escaped me. I shall be most thankful for correction.

Professor Skeat, Professor John W. Hales, and Mr. J. A. Sharkey have very kindly read the whole or part of the proofs. But they are in no way responsible for the faults which survive their criticism.

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CHAPTER I

GOD'S HOUSE

Proctors: William Bingham, from 1448; John Hurt, in 1457; William Fallan, in 1462; William Basset, between 1468 and 1475; Ralph Barton, between 1477 and 1486; John Sickling, from 1495 to 1505, when he became first Master of Christ's College

GOD'S HOUSE was founded in 1448 by King Henry VI. It was refounded by Margaret Beaufort, as Christ's College, in 1505. But though we rightly claim to be a royal foundation, our first debt is to William Bingham, priest of St. John Zachary in London. In 1439 he made a petition to Henry VI. to be allowed to build a house for students in grammar. He says therein that he found "no further north than Ripon seventy schools void or more that were occupied all at once within fifty years past, because that there is so great scarcity of masters of grammar." That degree was not very attractive; it was but recently that the master of grammar had been admitted to incept in a manner similar to that of the higher faculties — with the further ceremony of "beating openly in the schools"

with a rod provided for 4d by the bell-ringer of St. Mary's a "shrewd boy" purveyed by the bedell, in order that before his inception he might prove his capacity for that great function of his future life. Bingham hoped to do something to make the calling of a grammarian more popular by providing a house for twenty-four students, to be brought up by a learned priest, to take the master's degree, and then to go as schoolmasters to any part of England where their service was required. The house, with its land, was situated where the west end of King's College Chapel now stands. Bingham originally proposed to give it to the society of Clare Hall, perhaps thinking that grammar as a subsidiary study did not need an independent foundation. But in 1442 the plan was extended. On February 9 license was given to Bingham and to the Master and three Fellows of Clare to found a new college called God's House, consisting of one proctor (*i.e.*, administrator) and twenty-four "scholars"—described in the statutes of 1448 as *consocii*—to be incorporated, to have a seal, and to have power to hold lands to the annual value of £50 and advowsons of £50 more. But further changes were at hand. Henry VI. was occupied with the foundation of King's College, and needed the site of God's House. In return for his surrender Bingham received, 26 August 1446, license to himself, to the Master and certain Fellows of Clare and others nominated by him, to build elsewhere a college for the instruction of his scholars not only in grammar, but in any other faculty. Accordingly he purchased from the Abbeys of Tiltey and of Denny two narrow strips of land, which form part of the site of the first and second courts of Christ's

College;* the remainder—more than half—of the site was purchased at different times by Bingham's successors. In the charter of the new college, dated 16 April 1448, it is stated that Bingham had deferred the foundation owing to his ardent desire that the King's glory and his reward in heaven might be increased by his personal foundation of God's House. Henry could not resist such an argument: but he insisted that Bingham and his heirs should be named as *fundatores alteri;* and he founded the college for a Proctor and scholars in grammar and other liberal faculties, to study and to pray for his and Bingham's healthful state while they were alive, and for their souls after death, and for the souls of his parents and progenitors, Kings and Queens of England, and for the souls of the parents of William Bingham and of other benefactors.

The revenue of God's House consisted chiefly of pensions from "alien priories" appropriated by Henry V. during his war with France. Thus the College was to receive annually £5 from Newstead Abbey, in Axholm; £6 13^{s} 4^{d} from the Cistercian Abbey of Sawtry, Hunts, previously paid to the Abbey *de bona requie;* the same sum from the Benedictine Priory of Monmouth, founded *temp.* Henry I. by the Abbey of Saumur, in Anjou; the revenues of the Priory of Strigule (Chepstow), a cell of the Benedictine Abbey of Cormeil, in Normandy; £2 from Craswell, in Herefordshire, connected with Grandmont; the same from Totnes, in Devon, a cell of the Cluniac Abbey of St. Sergius at Angers; the proceeds of a manor and land at "Northikam" (North Hyckham),

* See J. W. Clark's "Architectural History of Cambridge," ii, 118.

Lincs (Tanner in the *Notitia* says that these belonged to an alien priory, but he gives no name); lastly, the reversion of the Hospital of St. James at Great Thurlow in Suffolk, yearly value £3. An income more unsatisfactory and more difficult of collection in the fifteenth century can hardly be imagined.

The College had besides these rents certain advowsons. Before the charter was granted Bingham was partly possessed of the rectory and advowson of Helpston, near Peterborough. In 1447 the King gave the advowson of Fen Drayton, Cambs* (which had belonged to Sawtry Abbey), in order that the proctor of God's House might "be person thereof, and so both minister his cure and rule the College." Henry also gave the advowson of Navenby, Lincs, which formerly belonged to the Church of St. Martin de Sagio "beyond sea"; it had been given (probably by Henry V.) to the nuns of St. Brigit of Syon, in Middlesex. In after-years the convent disputed the right of the College to present; a compromise was made in 1508 by which the College was to nominate three persons to the nuns, who should appoint one of them. Henry VII. gave license for the appropriation of the rectory of Navenby; but this was not done.

The statutes of the College were drawn up by John Hurt, D.D. (Fellow of Clare, Vicar of Helpston, and Bingham's successor as head of God's House), and Robert Scoles, B.D. They prescribed that two at least of the *scholares sive consocii* must be in Holy Orders. The qualifications for election were "conversatio, conditiones, mores, scientia, indigentia et etiam (!) aptitudo." They were to be at least "competent" gram-

* The rectory was appropriated to the use of the College in 1509.

marians or "sophists"; not more than half were to be of the same *natio*, *i.e.*, north or south country folk. After devoting at least two years to *sophistica et logica*, they were to return "ad subtiliora grammaticæ et profundiora," studying Priscian and Virgil and other poets, especially the "scientia metrificandi et versificandi."* The usual disputations were prescribed. Once a week they were to be in grammar; philosophy and theology also had their place. Anyone might be required to go and teach anywhere in England, provided that he had fulfilled his University obligations, that a proper salary was offered, and that the school which needed him was less than forty years old.† No one was to remain in Cambridge longer than the end of the first year of his regency. It may be noted that the statutes are the same, *mutatis mutandis*, as the ancient statutes of Clare Hall.

God's House was always cramped by lack of means. The revenue was never received in full. In 1447 Bingham prayed for further "supportation." He says that in his original house, which the King "desired," fifty persons might well be lodged, "and were so commonly." But there is no evidence, and it is highly improbable, that there was ever on the new site a building so commodious. On any of the rare occasions when we find the names of the society mentioned, the number never exceeds four. Perhaps they lived in tenements already existing when the land was bought. They had a chapel, for there is a bill of 29 March 1510 for the

* For the general course of students in grammar, see Mullinger, i. 340, etc.; Rashdall, II., ii. 598, etc.

† In the old statutes of Christ's College this regulation reappears (see p. 19).

setting of "the old glass" in the new chapel built for Christ's College; and the slate which had covered it was stored up for a year and a half to be used again.

The few documents concerning God's House which I have found in the Muniment Room give the impression of a very poverty-stricken foundation. Two are inventories. The first enumerates the property of the College at Bingham's death, probably about 1454, drawn up in a queer mixture of dog-Latin and English. It shows us the hall, with one "uetus hallyng de blewe saye pendens in pariete"; also a table and two benches, each 9 feet long, a round chair, and a *sege* (seat); the kitchen with a scanty list of pots and pans, *e.g.*, "i vrceolus fractus, item a broken posnette continens quartam." The proctor's chamber was more magnificent; he had two "coverleds de blewe," one "puluerizatum cum auibus" (with birds embroidered on it), the other with "yelow rosys"; and also "i oylde selowre (canopy or curtain; see Murray's 'Dictionary,' *s.v. celure*) de blacke saye lyned with blewe bokeram." An odd item in his wardrobe was "i iacke de defense couered cum serico." Some articles seem to have been in pawn.

Fifty years passed away, of which I have found no record but the names of the proctors and some of the *consocii* contained in bonds, arbitrations, etc. Then we come to a little strip of parchment, the second inventory, also undated; it may fairly be regarded as a list of the assets to be taken over by the Lady Margaret. Things have gone from bad to worse. The hall table and the "blewe" hangings have disappeared; the proctor's wardrobe contains but one hood lined with green "sendell."

But fortunately we have on it the poor remains of the library: the list of books seems to have been torn off the first inventory. The books are those commonly used by the student of the day and often pawned by him, as appears from the entries of the University "Grace Book A."* Here they are:

In primis, Hugucio.†
Item, Iohannes Crisostimus in opere imperfecto.‡
Item, Abvile in sermonibus dominicalibus.§
Item, Gregorius super Ezechielem.‖
Item, Burleus super iiii libros Phisicorum.¶
Item, Duo textus philosophicales.
Item, Precianus in maiore et in minore.**
Item, Biblia.
Item, Ouidius super metamorphosios (the same form appears in Chaucer).
Item, Galfridus in noua poetria.††
Item, Alter liber gramaticalis que incipit Quoniam dicemus.

* Luard Memorial Series, vol. i.

† A Latin dictionary by Ugucio, Bishop of Ferrara.

‡ "Commentary on St. Matthew," printed at the end of the works of Chrysostom, but not his.

§ Johannes de Abbatisvilla (Abbeville), a popular sermon-writer of the thirteenth century.

‖ Gregory the Great on the Prophet Ezekiel.

¶ Walter Burley, 1274-1345, author of many treatises on Aristotle.

** The "Major Priscian" is supposed to have been his first sixteen books; "Priscianus Minor" the last two (see Rashdall, "Universities," i. 434, note).

†† Geoffrey de Vinsauf, or Galfridus de Vinosalvo, author of a "Guide to the Making of Poetry" (Rashdall, i. 442, note); mentioned by Chaucer in the "Nonne Prestes Tale" (ed. Skeat, iv. 285): "O Gaufrid, dere mayster soverayn, . . . why ne had I now thy sentence and thy lore!"

Item, Liber logicalis secundum magistrum Willelmum Brigymur.*

Item, Liber sophisticalis.

Scanty though this list of books may be, it proves that the members of God's House did not limit their studies to grammar.

A third document, also undated, clearly belongs to this period. It contains the answers of Sickling, the last proctor, to "articles" concerning God's House. Sickling professes himself ready to give all information which "my Ladys Grace and her honourable Councell" may desire. But the only matters of importance which he mentions are that the College was receiving nothing from Thurlow, Chepstow, or Newstead, that the expenditure on Craswell exceeded the yearly income, and that the "Abbas" and Convent of Syon withheld the "vowson" of Navenby.

Truly the time had come for a reconstitution of the College.

* Probably Bridgemoor. Dr. M. R. James, of King's College, tells me that one of this name was a Canon of Holy Cross, Edinburgh. He commented on Aristotle, and died in England in 1382. I have to thank Dr. James also for the identification of "Abvile."

CHAPTER II

THE NEW FOUNDATION

I. *The Foundress*

MARGARET BEAUFORT, who in her own noble words deemed herself "heir to all King Henry VI.'s godly intentions," and therefore extended by ampler endowment that King's foundation of God's House under the new name of Christ's College, is one of the most interesting persons of her time. The daughter of John, Duke of Somerset, she was of royal race; and she was the mother of a line of kings; she stands half-way in direct descent between William the Norman and our present Queen.* The eventfulness of the first half of her life stands in marked contrast with the time of quiet leisure for all good works after her son's accession to the throne. Born probably in 1441, married, after the usual struggle for the hand of a great heiress, to

* 1, William I.; 2, Henry I.; 3, Matilda; 4, Henry II.; 5, John; 6, Henry III.; 7, Edward I.; 8, Edward II.; 9, Edward III.; 10, John of Gaunt; 11, John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset; 12, John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset; 13, MARGARET BEAUFORT; 14, Henry VII.; 15, Margaret of Scotland; 16, James V. of Scotland; 17, Mary Stuart; 18, James I.; 19, Elizabeth of Bohemia; 20, Sophia of Hanover; 21, George I.; 22, George II.; 23, Frederick; 24, George III.; 25, Edward, Duke of Kent; 26, Victoria.

Edmund Tudor in 1455, a widow and a mother in 1456, she lived for many years in prudent seclusion at Pembroke Castle. Not later than 1460 she married her third cousin, Sir Henry Stafford, who lived till 1481 without doing anything which has been recorded; and durin the reign of Edward IV., as the mother of an exiled competitor for the Crown, she had her full share in the anxieties of those unsettled days. Apparently she had acquiesced in the establishment of the House of York when in 1482 she took for her third husband Thomas, Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby, perhaps hoping by his aid to obtain her son's recall. Edward's sudden death changed her attitude; she was at least privy to Buckingham's rising, and she supplied her son with money for his preparations in France. But though she had done not a little to pave the way for Henry's return, after he became King she appeared little at Court. The letters of the King to her, especially that with reference to the proposed foundation of Christ's College,* and one which she herself wrote from Colly Weston in 1500 to "mine own sweet and most dear King and all my worldly joy" by his "humble mother, Margaret R.," show the affectionate respect in which Henry held her and his regard for her judgment. Indeed, her discretion was as marked in prosperity as in times of doubt and danger.

We may well accept Fisher's estimate of her as one "of singular wisdom far passing the common rate of women."

"She was" (he continues) "good in remembrance and of holding memory; a ready wit she had also to hold all

* Or possibly to the foundation of her readership.

things, albeit they were right dark. Right studious she was in books, which she had in great number both in English and in French."

If not herself an author, she translated several books of devotion printed by Wynkyn de Worde, and it was at her instance that William Caxton translated into English the "History of Prynce Blanchardyne," which he dedicated to her as a story which was "honest and joyful to all virtuous young noble gentlemen and women for to read therein as their pastime." It is as a patroness of learning that she chiefly lives in our memory: though our estimate of her character would be incomplete if we forgot her fervent if somewhat formal piety and her helpfulness to everyone who needed it. "She was bounteous and liberal" (says Fisher) "to every person of her knowledge and acquaintance. Avarice and covetice she most hated, and sorrowed it full much in all persons, but specially in any that belonged to her." The often-repeated story, told inimitably by Fuller, does really show the true woman, both wise and tender—how that when living at the College she looked out of a window of her apartments, and "saw the Dean call a faulty scholar to correction: to whom she said '*Lente, lente*' (gently, gently), as accounting it better to mitigate his punishment than procure his pardon."

The portrait of her with which we are most familiar is known by several copies; the best picture is that in the hall of St. John's College. It shows the curious conventual dress in which she was always depicted in later life; but I do not know the authority for the statement that she took monastic vows, if by these something more than the vow of celibacy be meant;

though she was admitted into fraternity with several religious houses, as Croyland, Westminster, the Charterhouse, etc., and she is spoken of as a *spiritualis soror* by the Prior and Convent of Durham.* Possibly the severity of the face was somewhat intensified by the painter as likely to be not displeasing to one whose mortifications in advanced life were excessive. I prefer a portrait which hangs in the dining-room of the lodge at Christ's College, as possibly giving a truer representation of her at a slightly earlier period: and I cling to this idea the more because in it I seem to see the natural development of a face wholly devoid of asceticism, preserved in a portrait of her belonging to Lord Bray, which was shown at the Tudor Exhibition in London some years ago.

The first gift of the Lady Margaret to Cambridge was the Readership in Divinity; the license was granted by the King in 1497, but no appointment was made till 1502. Her preachership was established in 1504; the holder of it was to preach once every two years at St. Paul's Cross or at Westminster, and once at specified churches in Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and Lincolnshire. *Ceteris paribus*, he was to be a member of Christ's College, a provision necessarily of a later date. Both these endowments were probably suggested to her by John Fisher, with whom she was on friendly terms as early as 1495: and he became her confessor about 1502. It does not imply any lack of gratitude to the Lady Margaret if we say that John Fisher was as truly the founder of Christ's College as William Bingham was of God's House. The will to do great works of charity was hers; the direction was

* See Cooper-Mayor, "Life," p. 84

given by him. She had proposed further to endow the great monastery of Westminster. He persuaded her to refound God's House, and afterwards to convert the religious house known as St. John's Hospital into the college for students in arts and theology which bears the same name.

John Fisher, according to tradition, came to Cambridge as a student of God's House, but he certainly belonged to Michaelhouse before he took his B.A. degree in 1487. He was a Fellow of that House and Master in 1497; he was the first Reader of Divinity on the Lady Margaret's foundation in 1502. From 1504 to 1514 he was annually elected as Chancellor, and in that year he was elected for life. In 1504 Henry made him Bishop of Rochester, and from 1505 to 1508 he was President of Queens', in order (it has been said) that he might have a residence at Cambridge to superintend the building of Christ's College. His connexion with Erasmus belongs to the history of Queens' College; but I may mention Mr. Mullinger's very probable conjecture* that, as Fisher was led by that great scholar to promote in the University the study of Greek and of Biblical criticism, he was also under the same influence when he drew up the statutes of the new College. Nor are we concerned with his later years, save that we may well think with pleasure on our great debt to a man whose life was so saintly and whose death so noble.

II. *The Statutes*

The old statutes of Christ's College bear date 1506. They remained unchanged for more than 350 years.

* Vol i., p. 453; and see below, p. 18.

In the next thirty-five years there came three successive codes. The new statutes of 1860 were superseded by statutes signed by the Queen in Council 3 May 1882, which in their turn made way for those of 29 June 1895.

The statutes of the Foundress were drawn up by John Fisher, the author of three subsequent codes for St. John's College, and they derive interest from the fact that they date from the birth of the "new learning" at Cambridge. They are the work of one well experienced in the management of a college, and are drawn up with a minute care. The fanciful analogy of the society to the human body is well known;* the idea without the formal statement reappears in the Johnian statutes.

The society consisted of the Master (*magister sive custos*), of twelve Fellows (*socii scholares*), and forty-seven scholars (*discipuli scholares*). The identity of Christ's College with God's House was shown by the continuance of the existing Proctor, John Sickling, and three *consocii* (John Scott, Edward Fowke, and Thomas Nunne), as the first Master and Fellows of the College; and their assent to the scheme is stated in the first chapter of the statutes. Of the twelve Fellows, six were always to belong to the nine counties north of the Trent—Derby, Nottingham, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cumberland, Westmorland, Durham, Northumberland, and Richmond—the last being regarded by the foundress

* ". . . præsentatur universus earum [personarum] numerus sub ratione corporis unius, cuius Magister sive Custos caput est; Decani duo, brachia; Senescallus et cistæ communis Præfectus, manus duæ; Scholares Socii, solida et potiora corporis ipsius membra; Lector, membrum generatione novæ sobolis deputatum; Scholares Discipuli, seminarium aptissimum; Famuli postremo mercede conducti velut infimi pedes sunt."

as a distinct county: and no more than one might belong to any one county on either side of the Trent. This distinction of North and South reminds us of the old division into "nations," familiar in foreign Universities, and more noteworthy at Oxford than at Cambridge. It shows a desire to encourage learning throughout the North of England, with some degree of natural favour for the part whence she derived her title. It produced a close connexion between the College and certain northern schools, such as Giggleswick, Morpeth, Newcastle, etc., from which scholars proceeded for long periods almost every year: the connexion was good both for the College and for the school. Of the forty-seven scholars, twenty-three (but no more) must always belong to these nine counties, and not more than three at the same time could be taken from any one county. In each case poverty was a condition; the Fellows were to be chosen "ex probioribus et doctioribus et egentioribus": the last two words disappeared in 1860: and in chapter xxxiii. it is emphasized that their stipends are "pauperibus et egentibus deputata." In chapter xxxix. it is laid down that the scholars are to be "indigentes tamen imprimis, modo ceteris condicionibus fuerint pares"; a private income of more than 8 marks a year (£5 6^{s} 8^{d}) voided a scholarship. The scholars were required to do service in turn in bodies of ten. Seven of these ten waited in hall bringing in and taking out the food for the Fellows and their comrades at dinner, supper, and bevers (*biberia*)—these last being irregular luncheons or afternoon refreshments; in a statute of Jesus College a Fellow's *biberium* is specified as a pint of drink with a suitable piece of bread, to be taken in hall twice a day

in silence. The eighth read aloud the Bible during the meals; the last two got ready the high altar in the chapel and put by the vestments after they had been used. Personal service to the Master and Fellows was discharged by the sizars, who at some early time became waiters in hall and remained so till the middle of the present century.* This service of the scholars on the Fellows was doubtless usual in the older Colleges, though it is not often specified in the statutes. At Peterhouse two or three indigent scholars might be supported by the master and Fellows, on whom they waited; and there were eight such at Queens'; at Clare, on the other hand, sizars and subsizars appear from the first: and though four scholars are to be maintained from the upper table, no waiting is mentioned. Probably Fisher wished to enforce a Spartan standard of life, and therefore prescribed such service as seemed to him honourable; but he expressly enacts that no further attendance on the Fellows is to be required of the scholars. It is consistent with this view that the allowance for commons both to Fellows and scholars is exceptionally small, 12^{d} a week for a Fellow and 7^{d} for a scholar. At Corpus at a much earlier date the Fellows had 16^{d} and the scholars 12^{d}; and at Jesus in 1495 a Fellow had 20^{d}. About fifty years later Dr. Caius says in his statutes that everything was three times as dear as it was "anteactis temporibus," meaning presumably when he was young; and the allowance of a Fellow of Christ's

* In 1725 four out of the number were specially appointed to wait on the Fellows in hall, and were paid each £4 a year. The payment, under the head of "sizars waiting," remained long after the service was abolished. It may be added that sizars are nowhere mentioned in the statutes, although the earliest matriculation ists (1544) contain numerous "quadrantarii" from Christ's.

was raised by successive steps to 16^d, 20^d, 22^d, till in 1574 it became 2^s and a scholar received 1^s. But though Fisher enjoined a lean diet, hard work, and strict fines on the new beneficiaries, his conception of the relations which befit the different ranks in a college is good; specially noteworthy is the statement in chapter xxxix. that the scholars should be not a "seminarium manui inobediens sed quod molliter et generose tractari potest." He would certainly have disapproved of the curious provision in the Clare statutes by which one or two of the Fellows were required every night to examine the scholars' rooms to prevent any assembling "epulandi aut confabulandi gratia," the fines levied on such "confabulants" to go to the Fellows' commons. It may be added that in Fisher's Johnian statutes waiting was to be done by "ministri ad hoc deputati."

It is in the Christ's statutes, I think, that a statute about pensioners is first found. But pensioners had existed at Cambridge long before; reference to them as *perendinantes* occurs in many older statutes. They were of very different standing — Masters of Arts or undergraduates; in fact, any persons not on the foundation who paid (hence the title) for their board and lodging. That they might cause trouble by their introduction of a standard of living unfit for poor scholars appears from the express mention of such danger in the statute itself (chapter xlv.): and Fisher, anxiously looking round (as he says) "unde pernicies aut malum aliquod hoc corpori oriri queat," guards against it by prescribing careful inquiry into the character of applicants and into their willingness to submit to the ordinary college training; this is the object of the statute, which regulated and did not

found the class. The contribution of the *pensionarii maiores*, *i.e.*, noblemen or fellow-commoners, probably increased considerably the comfort of the Fellows' table at which they sat; the *pensionarii minores*, the ancestors of the "pensioners" of to-day, lived of course with the scholars.

The studies both of the Fellows and scholars are carefully defined. Mr. Mullinger, who in his History (vol. i., pp. 453-461) has given a valuable comment on the statutes, suggests with great probability that in the provision, first found in them, for instruction in the works of the poets and orators of antiquity, may be seen "the result of many a conversation between the President of Queens' and his illustrious guest (Erasmus)." It is a small concession to the claims of the new learning; still, it is the beginning of a more fruitful course of study, as may be seen by a comparison with the corresponding statute, chapter xv. of the code given ten years earlier to Jesus College, which does not go beyond the older scholastic discipline. It may be noted that the *mathematica disciplina* of the elder College, and also of Queens', does not enter into the course at Christ's. The day's labour was long. Chapel service, at which everyone was bound to be present, finished "ante horam sextam"; it was one of the complaints against Barwell, Master at the end of the century, that he allowed the Fellows to make their *loci communes* (short sermons) so long by attacks upon each other that the subsequent hours for study were curtailed. From six to eight every morning the all-accomplished lector held forth in the hall on *sophistica* (*i.e.*, dialectic) logic, philosophy, "poetarum et oratorum opera"—the special books, and presumably the amount of each

subject to be taken each day, to be decided by the Master and the Deans. Then came attendance at the schools for the elder students; in place of this during the Long Vacation (when the University exercises ceased) there were to be (in addition to the usual college work) *sophismata* from eight to ten on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday. Ten was probably the original dinner-hour, afterwards altered to eleven; at which it remained till 1718, when it was deferred to twelve. At twelve every Monday and Wednesday there were "oppositions" in philosophy and theology, *i.e.*, a discussion of some thesis by two students of the College, with the lector to "moderate" between them. In the afternoon, from three to five, on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, there was a *sophisma*, *i.e.*, a discussion of some problem in logic; and on Friday at the same time a "problema in philosophia." On Monday there was an additional "problema in logica" from the conclusion of supper to 7 p.m. Thursday and Saturday were comparatively easy days. The old study of God's House survived every Friday from nine to eleven in a "disputation in grammar"; those students who were judged to be best fitted by the Master and the Deans were to give their best attention to grammar and to the accessories of teaching it, in order that (like the students of God's House) they might be fit to go forth, if required, to teach grammar in any part of England—a duty which no one might refuse if a stipend of £10 a year were offered for the work. I do not know how long this rule was practically operative: but under it Dr. John Doncaster was suffered to retain his Fellowship from 1808 to 1815 though head master of Oakham School.

Attendance on lectures was strictly enforced under penalty of 1^{d} (which went to the lector) for each omission if the student were *adultus;* boys might be flogged by the Dean. The age at which a student became adult is fixed by Dr. Caius in his statutes at eighteen; whether it was the same everywhere I do not know; nor whether a grown-up student might save his day's commons by taking his flogging instead of a fine. There was an appeal from a lector, who was "nimis asper et durus," to the Master and Deans, perhaps in the hope that they would lean to mercy's side.

Chapel fines, levied on Fellows and scholars alike, went to the Deans. Each Fellow was bound to perform Divine service and to preach in his turn. Fellows were also bound to perform exercises in philosophy and theology every week in the chapel till they were of standing for their degrees in arts and theology respectively.

The length of tenure of a Fellowship was not defined. Residence as a regent after taking the M.A. degree is presumed. It seems also to be presumed that, being all students of theology, the Fellows will proceed without unnecessary delay to parish work, though there is no statute such as that of Emmanuel College, "de Sociorum mora:" and the tenure of a living or of private property worth more than 10 marks voided a Fellowship. Exceptions grew up by degrees, *e.g.*, for the President among the Fellows. By a license of Queen Elizabeth the five Senior Fellows of the College who were "preachers" were allowed to hold together with a Fellowship any living with cure of souls provided that the annual value of it did not exceed £20, and that it

was distant not more than twenty miles from Cambridge.

As has been seen, the chief educational officer was the Lector, who united in himself the function of Head lecturer and of Prælector, *i.e.*, the officer through whom the student is brought into relation with the University. Lecturers in special subjects—Greek, Hebrew, Rhetoric—were endowed somewhat late in the century; but there had been teaching therein from the earliest times. There is no mention in the statutes of Tutors—they existed, of course, because it was the rule of the University that every student must have a tutor: but the tutor was responsible to the College only for the payment of bills, and he arranged for his pupils' rooms, etc. Sometimes the function of *fidejussor* was separated from that of tutor. Any Fellow could take pupils with the leave of the Master, who gave him chambers for that purpose and could thereby (as we know from Mead's letters in the next century) make himself disagreeable to any Fellow whom he disliked. Though the tutor's duties did not include direct teaching, he doubtless exercised some supervision over his pupils' studies. Mead required his pupils to come to him every evening and tell him their doubts on what they had read in the day, considering that a man who had no doubts had read to no purpose.

There is no statute respecting the Preachers abovementioned: but they doubtless existed from the beginning. Special endowments of Preacherships were given somewhat later; by Sir Walter Mildmay in 1568; by Dr. Hawford in 1580; by Richard Bunting, tenant of the College at Burnham, in 1597; and by Nicholas Culverwell, haberdasher of London. There was a

statute at Clare (*Univ. Documents*, ii. 178) which required that two persons should be appointed by the Master, each of whom should preach at least twice each quarter in the churches where the College had the impropriation. Early charges in our accounts for sermons at Fen Drayton, Helpston, Bourn, etc., show that the same duty was recognised here.

Mr. Mullinger thinks that Fisher endeavoured to limit the power of the Master; and the things which the Master may not do without the consent of the Fellows are carefully specified; but perhaps this is due rather to the minuteness everywhere apparent in the statutes than to deliberate intent. At all events, no such attempt was made by later authors of statutes. Dr. Caius expressly assigns to the Master the *vox negativa*, *i.e.*, the power of putting a veto on anything passed by the majority of the Society. At Magdalen most things were left to the judgment of the Master: and the same spirit is seen in the increased powers given to the Heads by the Elizabethan statutes of 1570. At Christ's, in addition to his direct punitive power, the Master's discretionary authority was very great. For example, a Fellow was allowed to be absent by right for twenty days (called *lusorii*) in each year; but a further period of thirty days might be granted by the Master, if he deemed "conscientia sua et coram Deo" that the cause was urgent; and, by what Fisher probably regarded as a great concession to human frailty, a Fellow on like grounds might have leave of thirty days more given by the Master and Fellows. Somewhat more than a hundred years later, Mead, who deemed himself unlikely to obtain any special favour, generally succeeded in getting away from Cambridge (see p. 142).

But at first there is no doubt that residence was strictly exacted. From 1530 onwards the College accounts give the number of Fellows and scholars in commons each week throughout the year, and there is little difference in term-time and vacation. On no occasion, except during a visitation of sickness, was the College ever closed; the number of scholars in residence was hardly ever less than thirty.

As a whole, the statutes undoubtedly show a wise and liberal spirit. Perhaps the least defensible point is the provision that the Visitor—who was the Chancellor, or in his absence (and therefore nearly always) the Vice-Chancellor — should inspect the College every year. Fisher seems to have felt that this gave a handle to a meddlesome Vice-Chancellor, for in the next statute he limits the time of such visitation to eight days between Martinmas and the Feast of St. Andrew. But I think that the provision was obsolete as early as 1531, for the statutory fees to the Vice-Chancellor and his attendant Registrary never appear in the early accounts, as they do at the visitations held from time to time on some special complaint.

III. *The Buildings*

The ground on which the Foundress built her College —*i.e.*, the present First Court—had been all, or nearly all, the property of God's House. It consisted originally of seven long strips of land. Six of these had their narrow western end abutting on Preacher Street, now St. Andrew's Street, and they extended eastward about 90 or 100 yards to a watercourse, which, though covered up, still runs through the Second Court a little to the west of the Fellows' Building and through the Master's

Garden till it ends in the drain below Hobson Street—formerly the King's Ditch, which ran by Walls Lane.*

She had thus a compact property, sufficient for a large court with a strip of garden on the south side, and a large piece of open ground—almost the whole of the present Second Court, and the south part of the Master's Garden—between the east side of the court and the watercourse above-mentioned. East of the watercourse lay a large close—called the Nuns' Close—the property of Jesus College: it was leased to Christ's College in 1507, and purchased in 1554. It comprises the Fellows' Garden, the ground on which the Fellows' Building stands, and a narrow strip of the Second Court just in front of that building. A rectangular garden, of which the south-eastern side is contiguous to the Fellows' Garden, was bought by Dr. Hawford, Master of the College in 1567. On this stands part of the new building of the Third Court. The triangular piece of ground (to which access is obtained from the old gateway in Hobson Street) lying between the north side of the First Court, Hobson Street, and the long walk in the Master's Garden (contiguous to the south-western end of the garden purchased by Hawford) was acquired piecemeal at different times during the sixteenth century. No further addition was made till 1882, when the boundary of the College along Hobson Street was extended as far as the Wesleyan Chapel. Four houses in Hobson Street with gardens were thus taken in, and a large brewer's yard with sheds running up to Hawford's garden; some small houses in King Street contiguous to the garden

* A map which shows all these strips of land will be found in the fourth volume of Mr. J. W. Clark's History.

of the furthest house in Hobson Street were also acquired. A large area for future extension was thus obtained.

The First Court is "an irregular trapezium placed in such a direction that the meridian line coincides very nearly with one of the diagonals."* The north side is, therefore, really the north-west; the others are correspondingly deflected: the east end of the chapel points to the north-east: but for description it is convenient to assume that the court stands as it would have done had the chapel pointed east. The court was cleverly arranged, so as to make the best use of the ground, though the shape is peculiar.

"The north and south sides are nearly parallel, and at a mean distance of 120 feet from each other. They are also very nearly at right angles to the east side. The irregularity is produced by the west side, which is so oblique as to make the length of the north side of the court 104 feet, and that of the south side 128 feet."

Two of its sides—the north and east—project beyond the outside of the quadrangle. This was a novelty, and a good one, for it materially increased the space at the disposal of the architect. The first projection is the east end of the chapel: the second is the kitchen, which lies southward beyond the court;† its original offices stood where the south side of the Second Court now stands. By this arrangement almost all the principal parts of the College lie on the east side—the chapel (except the ante-chapel, which takes up a small part of the north side), the Master's lodge, the hall,

* J. W. Clark, ii. 193.

† The last extension of the College—the new library at the south-west corner, running as far as Christ's Lane—follows the same principle.

the buttery, and the kitchen. Thus, two sides and three-quarters could be given to rooms, the library only occupying a small part of the first floor on the west side. A comparison with the plan of Queens' College in Mr. Clark's work—a College with which it is natural to compare ours, as near in date, and not remodelled, as Jesus was, from a building planned for different uses —will show that Christ's had space for nearly twice as many sets of rooms.

It is not uninteresting to picture to ourselves the new College as it stood nearly 400 years ago in its relation to the other buildings of the University. It stood outside Barnwell Gate, beyond the limits of the town, with the house of the Dominicans down Preacher Street to the south-east, and the stately home of the Franciscans as its nearest neighbour to the north-west, where Sidney now stands. But the Franciscan house, and nearly all the other Colleges then existing, were shut in among narrow streets. Christ's stood in an open and airy position, with facilities for further expansion. The clunch of which it was built, with strengthening lines of narrow red brick, was doubtless pleasant to the eye when new: though the street-front and the interior of the court soon required "whiting," and then plastering, and finally became so dilapidated as to necessitate casing with excellent ashlar-work. Still, the extraordinary durability of the clunch, a material seemingly so perishable, may be seen on the outer faces of the north and south sides, which still retain something of their original aspect: the north side has several of the ancient windows. Inferior in beauty to the red-brick court of Queens', it was certainly the largest College then existing. It requires some effort

From a photograph by] FRONT OF THE COLLEGE [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

Plate II

of imagination to see Cambridge with King's College, St. John's College, and Trinity College, as we know them, all wanting. King's at that time could show nothing but its old court and its unfinished chapel. Instead of St. John's, we must picture to ourselves the ancient hospital; instead of Trinity, the little hostels out of which it was compacted. Nearly all the other Colleges had but one small court. Instead of the great blocks of Caius, Pembroke, and Corpus, there were to be seen only the little Gonville Hall, Pembroke Hall—the first quadrangle—which some of us can remember still intact, and that court, historically the most interesting in Cambridge, into which the old tower of St. Benet looks, which (in spite of some intrusive sash-windows) still shows us in its happily "unrestored" state how one small College looked 550 years ago. Christ's had for a short time, in accordance with the first intention of its Foundress, a clear predominance, from which it was to be deposed by the action, first of Lady Margaret herself, and afterwards of her masterful grandson. But the affection of the Foundress for her first College remained undiminished, as her will attests. The greater revenues of St. John's College, and probably the eminence of many of its earliest members, gave it almost from the first a position in the University to which Christ's could not lay claim. But this College was always included with King's, Trinity, and St. John's among the four great royal foundations; and the University Degree-books show that its members were presented after the students of those three Colleges, but before all others, till the middle of the last century, at which time our numbers were exceptionally small. The claim of the College to a royal origin appears in the

title as used, first in Latin and now in English, in formal documents—*e.g.*, in the Charter of Henry VII. (*Documents*, iii, p. 148):

"Collegium Christi in Universitate Cantabrigiæ per Henricum Regem Angliæ Sextum primo inchoatum et post eius discessum per Margaretam Comitissam Richmondiæ matrem Regis Henrici Septimi augmentatum finitum et stabilitum."

The building of the College seems to have gone on from 1505 to 1511. The evidence is derived from the payments for work done entered in the Lady Margaret's household books, in the accounts of her executors, and from a volume of building accounts preserved at St. John's. Extracts from these are given by Mr. Clark (vol. ii, pp. 193-200). The amount spent by the Foundress during her lifetime is not ascertainable, but the cost after her death was more than £1,000. The clunch employed in the work was easily obtained, and easy to work; the timber (which, at least in the hall and lodge, is chestnut, and not oak) is supposed to have been given by the Foundress from one of her estates. The College was certainly in part habitable in a year or two after the commencement of the work. The license for holding Divine service in the chapel was granted at the end of 1506; but the chapel was not roofed or glazed till 1510, and about June it was consecrated; perhaps the old chapel of God's House was used in the intervening time, and the "offal" left by the masons in the court, which was cleared away on June 1, may have included the remains of the old building. The glass windows had been transferred to the new chapel two months before.

Though the College had no very striking architectural features, the general effect, as seen in Loggan's view, is good. We see the old mullioned windows, supplanted by sash-windows in the last century; and the battlements, inside the court as well as without, which were displaced by Essex to make way for the solid parapet, which still remains, and indeed suits the new windows better. The original windows have recently been restored in the library with very good effect. We see a path (called the Regents' Walk) running from the great gate directly across the court to a door which gave entrance to the great parlour in the lodge, then the reception-room of the College, and now the Master's dining-room. That room has been reduced in size by a passage made between it and the hall. The passage leads to the winding stone staircase which gave the only access to the suite of three rooms on the first floor, corresponding exactly with those below, and reserved by the Foundress for her own use during life, while the Master contented himself with the three rooms on the ground-floor. The Foundress's suite consisted of a large anteroom (commonly but wrongly called the Foundress's Bedchamber) with a little lobby in one corner at the entrance from the old staircase. The second room, now the drawing-room, was the Foundress's own living-room; it has an oriel window looking into the court, not much injured by the removal of the mullions, and a very interesting stone chimney-piece adorned with fourteen badges (originally sixteen), including a rose (repeated twice), a portcullis—the Beaufort badge (repeated once), three ostrich feathers (a badge assumed by Edward III. in right of his wife), a crown, a fleur-de-lis (repeated once), the letters H.R. (doubtless Henricus Rex, re-

peated once), and lastly (twice repeated, though the form differs) the special badge of the Lady Margaret—groups of marguerites, in one case represented as growing in a basket. This very beautiful work was brought to light in 1887; it had been covered up by the insertion of a modern fireplace, whereby two of the badges were destroyed. The whole had been coloured; there were traces of a deep blue pigment on the stone between the badges; and on the jambs was scrollwork in black and yellow. The remaining space between the drawing-room and the chapel contained at its eastern end a private oratory, with a window opening into the chapel, closed up in 1702, but reopened in 1899; it was connected with the drawing-room by a door, which was revealed when the walls of the oratory were stripped (see p. 293). At the western end was a small room looking into the court, probably the bedroom of the Foundress, connected by a door, now visible, with the oratory; this room was swept away when the present staircase was introduced, probably in the seventeenth century: further access had become necessary, because at that time several of the Masters let the best rooms of the lodge, and lived themselves in what was called the Little Lodge (to be seen in Loggan's view), a building of considerable size to the north of the chapel, intended originally for offices to the lodge. The time at which it was built is not known, but it must have been later than the lodge itself, as the ground on which it stood did not at first belong to the College. It was pulled down in 1748, and the materials were used to build the present kitchen and servants' rooms, which contain some very good old doors.

The hall, between the lodge and the buttery, had no

exceptional features. It had good panelling of the so-called "linenfold" pattern, and a fine high roof, of which the old chestnut principals remain. Unfortunately, in 1723 money was given to "beautify" it: which was done by putting deal wainscot over the oak panelling, by covering up the old fireplace, and by hiding the pointed roof with a cylindrical plaster ceiling. In this disfigured condition the hall remained till 1875, when large repairs became necessary, as the west wall was 6 inches out of perpendicular. Under the superintendence of Mr. George Gilbert Scott the old roof was removed, reconstructed, and replaced; the walls were rebuilt and raised about 6 feet; a second oriel window was built on the east side; the gallery over the passage by the screens was restored to the hall (it had been attached to the present Combination-room); and new oak panelling was put up, some of the original work being sufficiently sound to remain at the south end.* The Master and Fellows had a difficult problem to solve; a larger hall was much needed, but no satisfactory means of extension could be found. Respect for the old arrangement forbade the construction of a new hall running eastward into the Second Court, which might have been of any size that seemed desirable, and would not have been much more expensive. It was determined to reconstruct the hall on the old lines and of the original size, and in the near future to extend it northward by annexing the adjacent rooms of the lodge—a scheme which involved the building of a new lodge. Happily this idea has never been carried out.

In 1882 and the following years portraits of the

* The panelling at the north end, which had been left bare, was put up this year (1900).

founders, of benefactors, and of worthies of the College were placed in the twenty-one lights of the west oriel; the persons chosen as "glass-worthy" were William Bingham, Henry VI., John Fisher, Lady Margaret, Edward VI., Sir John Finch, Sir Thomas Baines, John Leland, Edmund Grindall, Sir Walter Mildmay, John Still, William Perkins, William Lee,* Sir John Harrington,† Francis Quarles, John Milton, John Cleveland, Henry More, Ralph Cudworth, William Paley, Charles Darwin. The glass is the work of Messrs. Burlison and Grylls.

The chapel is entered through an ante-chapel from the north side of the First Court. The ante-chapel is original, for the mouldings of the ceiling are the same as others of the time of the foundress, though the four pillars which now support the roof were inserted for greater strength in 1661. Above it was the Master's "closet," or oratory, approached from the ante-chapel by a "vise" or winding staircase at the north-western corner, similar to that in the lodge already mentioned. This oratory was converted first into sets of rooms,‡ then into bedchambers for the lodge; access to it was obtained at one time by an external wooden gallery, seen in Loggan's view, and referred to in the accounts as the "Belcone," when (as often happened) its lead

* The inventor of the stocking-loom.

† I have since, unhappily, discovered that the old belief that Sir John Harrington belonged to Christ's is wrong. He was certainly first at King's, afterwards, perhaps, at Trinity. It rested on his reference (see p. 74) to John Still, who was Fellow of Christ's, and afterwards Master of Trinity. The dates make it impossible that Harrington should have been under Still at Christ's.

‡ There is a charge in 1600-1 for "two studdyes in the chapel, £5 12. 0." paid by the Master. I think this must refer to the dartitions which divide the original "closet."

roof needed repairs.* When this gallery was removed the rooms were, and still are, reached by a passage excavated in the chapel-wall, which at this part is 6 feet in thickness. The Master's closet contained (as appears from the old accounts) an altar and presses for vestments. It was lighted on the north side by two pointed windows in a line with the three in the chapel west of the organ-loft, and of the same height. The heads of these can still be seen from inside above the ceiling of the present bedroom. Originally no doubt the closet ran up to the roof, still existing, 6 feet above the ceiling; it is a continuation of the roof of the chapel. The closet is divided now from the chapel by an unbroken partition: originally there was a "parclose," the nature of which is uncertain; it may have been of lattice-work, so that the outline of the two windows would be visible from the chapel; but more probably it was solid, with windows looking into the chapel.†

The chapel must have been much more beautiful within during the first fifty years of the College than at any later time. The accounts already mentioned contain payments for stained glass in the windows, of which some lights survive, few, but of excellent quality. Carvers of skill were impressed for the stonework, which included an Easter sepulchre, comically described as "thymage of Christ with the iiii knights and the sepulcre with themage of our ladie." The altar steps and some other parts of the pavement were of expensive

* I have found no record of the construction of this gallery; it was "coloured" in 1603-4. In 1688 it was ready to fall, and had to be under-pinned.

† Archdeacon Kaye, who was born in the lodge, told me (1899) that he remembers the outline of a window visible from the room. There is no sign on the wall within the chapel of any window.

marble. The Foundress left to the chapel valuable ornaments. "A grete crucifix gilt and inamylt with Mary and John" was valued at £23 4s; another at £9 10s; a great processional cross to take to pieces was worth £23 12s. There were two pairs of great gilt candlesticks, two great gilt "sensours" and two small; and "a grete ship* gilt with a litell gilt sponne, and on every ende of the shipp is a lion, and on the forparte under the lion ben ij portculis, and halfe a nakyd man servithe to open and shete the lide." The costliest piece was "a chales of golde with the patent," the chalice being "garnished with perlys and stonnes"; the value without the precious stones was £100. The estimated value of the whole was £397 4s 10d, a very large sum. The vestments were on a like scale. There was one cope of red cloth of gold tissue, "orfreide (*i.e.*, having embroidered edges) with blue velvet, with Jhesus and portculis, full garnishede with spangelis, the mose (clasp) with a portculis and a coronall," valued at £40. Besides this there were copes of red velvet, "fringede with water fflowris," copes of "rede satyn of Bruges . . . garnishede with sophanyes (supposed to be Christmas roses) and my Ladyes poisye," copes of "purple clothe of Bawdekyn," copes of "crymesyn velvett embrodryd with margaretes," copes of "blew velvett with water fflowrys," a "cope of white cloth of gold . . . orfreid with crimysyn velvett," etc., besides vestments and "tunics" innumerable of similar material and colour; altar-cloths "of crymsyn velvett embrodrid with Margaretes," "of

* A similar "ship," *i.e.*, censer, supposed to have belonged to Ramsay Abbey, and now in the possession of the Earl of Carysfort, was exhibited at the Fitzwilliam Museum (*Catalogue*, No. 192) in May 1895.

white clothe golde with the salutacion of our lady in the myddis," etc.; "a covering for the Sepulture of rede satyn garnishede with Jhesus of golde within a wreathe of white rosis." The value of the whole of the vestments was £566 8s 8d. Finally, there were costly service-books, *e.g.*, "a grete antyphoner in parchement with legent covered with white lether with ij long claspes of latyn, in secundo folio *Ecce Virgo*, viij *li*," besides numerous mass-books, "grailes," and processionals.

The two little chapels to the north, originally distinct, but very early connected by a passage, were elaborately coloured and gilded. The one to the west opens into the antechapel, and externally retains its old appearance more than any other part of the College, the original tracery of the windows still remaining. The second has the organ loft above, perhaps constructed some years later, when the new organs were purchased, about 1532; it opened into the chapel, but the entrance is now hidden by the plain but handsome woodwork put up round the chapel and antechapel in 1702-3, when Dr. Covel obtained "the benevolence of gentlemen formerly of our College towards rebeautifying our Chappell" (see p. 212). So "beautified" it remained for nearly two hundred years.

The library was a fair-sized room, lighted towards the street by five windows close together, on the first floor of the court, between the gateway and the south-west corner. It sufficed to hold all the books of the College till 1852, when the benefaction of Peter Fraser, Rector of Kegworth, made it necessary to add the room beneath it on the ground-floor. Two more rooms in the corner of the court were annexed in consequence of

further benefactions about 1882. This inadequate arrangement lasted till 1897, when the very beautiful library, with a large lecture-room below, built from the design of G. F. Bodley, A.R.A., was opened for use (see p. 292). The façade of the College in St. Andrew's Street was extended by this building to Christ's Lane, and its dignity was greatly increased.

The additions to the College buildings in later times may be enumerated here.

In 1613 a wooden building, of two stories with attics, which seemingly contained twelve chambers, was erected in the Second Court. Its south end abutted on the corner of Christ's Piece; it was parallel to the kitchen and the (later) Fellows' Building, and, together with the south wall of the Master's Garden and the offices of the kitchen along Christ's Lane, it formed a little court, about one-third less than the present Second Court. It was picturesque, as it appears in Loggan's view. It is called in the accounts "the little building," but quite as often it has the more popular title of Rats' Hall. It was pulled down in 1731, when it was no longer needed.

In 1640-42 the Fellows' Building was erected (see p. 155).

In 1823-24 the south side of the Second Court was built (see p. 278). Another staircase (called C^1) was added to it in 1867 to provide lecture-rooms; these were converted into chambers in 1882.

In 1888-89 the new building in the Third Court was erected (see p. 291).

In 1896-97, as just mentioned, the new library was built.

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

THE SECOND COURT (FELLOWS BUILDING)

Plate III

IV. *The Endowment*

Some of the more interesting sources of the new endowment may be briefly mentioned. It came chiefly from four counties: Cambridge, Norfolk, Leicestershire, and Essex.

1. Malton, Cambridge: the parsonage and manor. The parish consisted of one house, which was joined to Orwell: and the College was not required to endow a Vicar. The mansion house was to be used by the College as a sanatorium: and an interesting room with an oak roof still survives.

2. Manorbeer, Pembroke: the parsonage.

3. Creyke (or Creak), Norfolk: the Abbey of St. Mary de Pratis, and its possessions. It was founded in 1206 by Alice de Nerford for an Abbot and four Canons (Augustinian). The last abbot died in 1507, and no canons were left to make a new election. The King, to whom the abbey reverted, gave it to the Lady Margaret on payment of £466 13^{s} 4^{d} for Creak and Manorbeer together. Among the property so acquired were manors at North and South Creak and Quarles, and at Bintre; land at Harpley, Massingham and Anmer; pensions from Ilveston (Leicestershire) and Rotherthorp (Northants); and the impropriation of St. Margaret's, Hapton. About sixty years after their foundation the Abbot and Canons of Creak were in great distress. They would be compelled (they said), to the dishonour of their Order, to beg publicly, unless the Church of Norwich favoured them. Accordingly, the Bishop gave them the church of Hapton and a moiety of All Saints at Wreningham. Christ's College has the tithes of Hapton, and appoints a curate; but it has never received from Wreningham more than a pension of 6^{s} 8^{d}, which it still receives. The College also had from Creak the advowson of St. Helen, Gately, and of St.

Andrew's, Ringstead ; Ringstead was exchanged in the last century for Brisley, near Gately.

4. Ditesworth (now Diseworth), Leicestershire, and lands in Kegworth, Hathern, and Walton). This was a great property of nearly 1,600 acres, purchased for us (through Sir Henry Collet) from John, Duke of Norfolk.

5. The advowsons of Kegworth (Leicestershire) and Sutton Bonington (Nottinghamshire). These advowsons were supposed to be included in the Lady Margaret's purchase of Diseworth ; but the right was disputed in both cases. For Kegworth a compromise was made : that the College on each vacancy should nominate "two discrete, able, and sufficient clerks" to Sir Maurice Berkeley (who had married the second daughter and co-heir of the Duke), and he, and his heirs after him, should appoint one to be presented by the College. Sir Maurice claimed that his wife had brought him (among other possessions) the honour of Segrave, and that the Lord of Segrave had always presented to these two livings. His claim was ultimately successful as regards Sutton Bonington.

6. Roydon, Essex : a manor granted to the foundress in 1505—"a great estate (as Cudworth describes it 150 years later) which now the Earl of Salisbury hath, richly worth £600 per annum." In 1531 it was worth only £43 a year. But Henry VIII. coveted it, in order that he might give it to Anne Boleyn. Accordingly (with the reservation of a house and 1½ acres of land) it was surrendered by the College in 1531, in exchange for Bromhill Priory in Norfolk.

As Bromhill replaces Roydon, it may be briefly described here. It was a priory of Augustinian canons, dissolved by Bull of Clement VII., and granted to Wolsey for his college at Ipswich. After his fall it reverted to the King. The most important of its possessions were the manor of East Hall in Feltwell ;

the manors of Otryngham, Methwold and Croxton, with land, sheepwalks, etc.; the parsonage of Croxton; fishing rights at Barnham and Witton Wear; and messuages in numerous "towns, parishes and fields," which paid rent for ten or twenty years, and then disappear from the accounts: from at least seven no payment was ever received. But the largest item was a pension of £20 a year from the manor of Weeting. This the College could never get. The manor was part of the jointure of Elizabeth, Countess of Oxford. She alleged, doubtless with truth, that the payment was contingent on masses being sung for the souls of the donors: the canons had ceased to sing: so no payment was due. A similar difficulty at Creak had been met by an engagement on the part of the College to maintain "an honest priest" to say mass daily in the College chapel and a solemn obit once a year; and so "Calthorpe's chaplain" appears regularly in the accounts till the Reformation, when he develops into 'the catechist." But the Countess would have none of this. The College attempted to distrain, but the King forbade them. Before the matter was settled (see p. 53) King and Countess had both passed away.

Lastly, in 1507, lands near Coventry at Allesley, Bedworth and Stivichall (or Stichall) were left by Margaret Warton (as belonging either to her or to her husband, Richard Clerk, baker, or to both conjointly), "to my lady the King's mother" for the use of the College, on the usual condition of daily prayer and one "anniversary." Probably she belonged to the Lady Margaret's household.*

* Her will contains a curious bequest to the city of Coventry, viz., "I will that ten pots, ten basons, ten lavers, ten coverletts, and

Brief mention must be made of the gold plate left to the College by its Foundress; it is among the finest at Cambridge.* The singularly beautiful cup which bears her name is 12¾ inches in height with the cover; it is ornamented with spiral bands, with an enrichment of oak, vine and rose branches. Its date (about 1440) is fixed by the enamelled shield within it, which bears the arms of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Eleanor Cobham; but how it passed to the Foundress is matter for guessing. A beaker, with cover, of 1507, is noteworthy for its profuse ornament of marguerites at each intersection of the bands of the diaper-work. There are two salts with covers, of date about 1500, in height 9¼ inches; and a third somewhat smaller, of 1507-8, plainer in design, but, I think, even more beautiful. Lastly, the College received six Apostle spoons, the rest of the set going to St. John's College at the division of the Foundress's plate. Our six are the Master spoon, St. Paul, St. Matthias, St. Bartholomew, St. Jude, or St. James the Less, St. Simon Zelotes.

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ten sheets be put in the Alderman's hands of every ward in the city, otherwels in the most honest place near the gates, where the said Aldermen will assign, there to be kept and spent, with that intent that poor folk may be relieved therewith at weddings, christenings and burials, as often as they have need of them."

* See *Old Cambridge Plate*, by J. E. Foster and T. D. Atkinson, in which all our most important pieces are figured; also Cripps' *Old English Plate* and *College and Corporation Plate*.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST HALF-CENTURY

Masters: John Sickling, 1505-7; Richard Wyot, 1507-10; Thomas Thompson, 1510-17; John Watson, 1517-30; Henry Lockwood, 1530-48; Richard Wilkes, 1548-53; Cuthbert Scot, 1553-56; William Taylor, 1556-59

THE first eight Masters of the College pass quickly across the scene. Only one was Master when he died—John Sickling, proctor for ten years of God's House, who ruled the new College for little more than a year. The buildings were still unfinished three years later when his successor, Wyot, left Cambridge for Southwell. Wyot was surveyor of the work which was going on at the same time at Great St. Mary's: so his hands were full of building. Dr. Thompson, the third Master, was Rector of Enfield for thirty-five years, and was succeeded there in 1540 by Henry Lockwood; the presentation at that time belonged to the convent of Walden. Thompson, who had been a Pembroke man, trafficked much in land. He sold to St. John's College "ten score and seventeen acres lying within the fields of Cambridge, Coton, and Newnham." We could wish that he had

sold them to us. But he did give the College lands at Malton and Orwell, and also two houses adjoining the churchyard of Great St. Andrew's, one an inn called the Brasen George, the other named from successive tenants "Scocroft's" and "Troilus Atkinson's." Both of these houses, by some strain on the statutes, were used for the reception of students of the College. Dr. Thompson often came over from Enfield to visit the College, where his merit was recognised by presents of "sugar, malmsey, and drink" while he lived, and by an annual "dyryge" after his death. He had himself buried in a chantry on the south side of the old chapel of St. John's.

John Watson was a more distinguished man than his predecessors. A Fellow of Peterhouse, he was presented by that College to the Rectory of Elsworth. He had been a traveller to Venice and other parts of Italy, as appears from a letter of Erasmus, who knew him well, and desired his opinion on the edition of the New Testament. Their friendship is shewn by Watson's pleasant letter inviting Erasmus to his country home, where the church, built throughout in the most beautiful English style, rises on the steep ridge above the hollow where the little village lies.

"Nactus sum sacerdotium intra septem millia a Cantabrigia: ædes habet pulcras, et mediocriter ad victum utile est; porro valet viginti nostrates libras supra omnia annua: . . . hoc tibi si aut voluntati aut ulli usui esse potuerit, tuum erit tibique mecum commune, quomodo et erit quicquid et aliud est meum."

He was soon recalled to Cambridge from the quiet of country life. As Vice-Chancellor—he held the office for two years, 1518-20—he must have received Wolsey

when the great Cardinal visited Cambridge, for Fisher, the Chancellor, was not present; and also Queen Catharine, whose side he had taken in the divorce question. He and Fisher belonged to the older Cambridge school, which encouraged the study of Greek and the substitution of classical training for the scholastic subtleties; but he did not sympathize with the new doctrinal developments. He was simply a Humanist, and he appears more than once as an enemy to heresy. He was one of the court which tried Dr. Barnes, the incautious Prior of the Augustinian Friars, on the memorable December day in 1528, when

"the whole body of the University gathered together and knocked at the School-doors, and said they would hear the examination . . . and these few persons should not take authority on them only to hear and to determine such causes."

Dr. Watson was also upon the committee appointed on the King's request to examine certain pestilent books; he stands first in a list of twelve of "the best learned men in Divinity in the University." When Vice-Chancellor for a third time he had to convene Nicholas Shaxton, of Gonvile Hall, for a sermon preached at St. Mary's. Shaxton was required to swear that he would not "keep, hold, maintain, and defend at any time any opinion or error of Wiclif, Huss, Luther, or any other condemned of heresy." This very comprehensive oath was taken not only by Shaxton, but by all other Divinity candidates of that year.* But Dr. Watson's rigour as a judge was compatible with much sweetness in private life; if we may accept Erasmus's appreciation

* Cooper, *Annals*, i. 345.

of him: "Convenit hoc istis moribus tuis, ita piis ut supercilio careant, ita comibus ut absit levitas, ita severis ut absit severitas."*

The first book of College Accounts which we possess dates from 1531, the first year of the Mastership of Henry Lockwood. His accounts show him to have been an excellent man of business; they also show the unhappy condition of the College finances. The whole of his Mastership was disquieted by the results of the exchange of Roydon, in Essex, for Bromhill Priory (see above, p. 38). He was constantly writing to Thomas Cromwell, who had succeeded to Wolsey's influence at Court, for help in obtaining the rights of the College; abstracts of these letters will be found in the Calendar of State Papers, vols. v. to viii. Lockwood apparently had been on good terms with Cromwell before he became Master; possibly Cromwell helped him in that matter, for Lockwood writes that he is indebted to Cromwell for all that he has, that he has no promotion, and that in hope of Cromwell he has taken a degree and "impoveryd" himself. Cromwell's son Gregory was under Lockwood's charge, though perhaps not at Cambridge: in September 1532 Lockwood hopes that after Michaelmas he shall have Gregory again as a bed-fellow at Christ's; and in another letter of the same year from Marlow he reports that "your son Gregory is merry, thanked be God." He was exposed to the attacks of the Fellows, who charged him with releasing the College land without proper security. They had

* Dr. Watson is said to have held a prebend of Southwell: but the prebendary died in 1530 (Le Neve, iii. 444). Cole (MSS. xx.) thinks that he may have been the Vicar of White Notley, Essex, who died in 1537. He did not die in 1530, as Cooper says: for in 1536 the Senior Fellow rode out to consult him on "College business."

lost Roydon, and had received in exchange property which they could not get into hand; much of the income was in arrear, some was never received at all, especially the pension of £20 from Weeting, which formed a quarter of the whole. Lockwood tries compromise: if a certain parsonage in Kent can be granted, it will be a great commodity to the College, and Cromwell shall have what he likes for himself and Gregory. In fact, in 1535 a grant was made by the College to Mr. Secretary Cromwell, and his son Gregory in survivorship, of a rent of 10 marks from the manor of Diseworth; the consideration for this, whatever it was, was not the Kent parsonage. At another time Lockwood sends by Mr. Wyatt, Fellow of the College, the price of half a tun of wine, which he meant to have given to Cromwell at their last meeting, only he could not get the opportunity—"that I might have called for a cup thereof for me or my friend." The enormous expense for one year of this struggle may be given in detail, for it throws light on the manners of the time. First Mr. Wyatt "rides to my Lady of Oxforth" at a cost of 5s 8d. Then comes the charge for the Master's stay in London in the Michaelmas term to "solicit" the King's Council, twenty-six days, with two servants and three horses, £4 5s; the same in Hilary Term, thirty days, £4 13s 8d: also for Mr. Wyatt in Lent Term, thirty-eight days, £3 7s 4d; and horse hire, 13s 4d. Also the Master in the Easter Term in London, "to solicit Mr. Cromwell for restitution of our lands at Weeting," fourteen days, and horse hire, £3 5s; in Trinity Term, nineteen days, £3. In July, Mr. Wyatt for the same, ten days, £1 18s 2d; in August, thirteen days, £1 14s 6d; in September, twelve days, £1 8s 8d;

in October, seven days, £1 0s 9d. In all, the Master is in London eighty-nine days and Mr. Wyatt eighty, at a total cost of £25 12s 1d, a sum which exceeds the stipends of all the Fellows for half a year. Expenditure, less formal, but doubtless necessary, is duly recorded. Mr. Cromwell's servants received 5s and 4s "to remember our business." George, one of Mr. Cromwell's clerks, had 3s 4d; Dr. Lee, the Archdeacon, £1, "to solicit the matter." Mr. Cromwell himself, in addition to his fee, had £3, "for the quicker expedition of our College business." Mr. Richard Cromwell and Mr. Hind had each 5s to solicit Mr. Cromwell. A year or two later "Mr. Secretary" had £6 13s 4d for his "fee," which had risen with his importance. The King's Attorney was fee'd to solicit the Secretary, and the Attorney's clerk had 3s 4d. The "Secretary's servients and porters and such as be of his chamber" had 6s 8d and 3s 4d: and so on.

Lockwood's despondency increases as the years go by. It is needless to repeat his lamentations to Cromwell how he had impoverished the College and done no good. There are no letters later than 1535, but the accounts show that Lockwood was obliged to be in London for about seventy days each year till 1542, and the matter was still unsettled when he left Christ's for Navenby after fifteen years of struggle. At Navenby —which he held as Rector as well as Enfield—he died in 1555, when the accounts show a sum paid "to him that certified the College of Dr. Lockwood's death."

The "plague"* was very prevalent at Cambridge in Lockwood's time, bringing with it alterations of the dates of University terms, postponement of Acts, general dis-

* See Creighton's *History of Epidemics*, c. vi.

traction of study, and, in particular, the migration of our College to the sanatorium at Malton. There were at least five such migrations in fifteen years: for eighteen weeks in 1533, twenty-two weeks in 1537, nine weeks in 1542, eighteen weeks in 1543, and twenty-eight weeks in 1544. Two or three of the Fellows remained in charge of the College, and received some addition to their customary shilling a week for commons. The items in the accounts bring the scene before us. One of the Fellows "rides" to Malton "to prepare the house for the coming of the company," to assign rooms, and to "order" the company on its arrival. When the time for the election of scholars fell during the exile, Mr. Wyatt rode out to "warn the election," and payment is allowed for the consequent dinner. Pattinson, who was a student, was allowed 12^{d} "for keeping the buttery at Malton for three weeks." Of their studies and diversions there is no record: but country life may have been enjoyable to undergraduates who might not go into the town of Cambridge without an elder companion. At the end of the time Mr. Wyatt rides over again "to oversee the house at the departing of the company." "They that schowryde the vessels and cleansed the house and the kitchen" received 4^{d}; the laundress, whose regular payment was 15^{s} a quarter, received 15^{s} more for her pains; and Jakes, the carpenter, had 4^{d} for nailing up the doors and windows till the next incidence of the plague.

I find no reference to any activity on the part of the College when Dr. Leigh, Mr. Chancellor Cromwell's deputy, visited Cambridge at the time of the Royal injunctions of 1535, except a payment of £2 19^{s} 3^{d} "for the King's visitation." Lockwood is not included

in a letter of John ap Rice to Cromwell (*Cal. State Papers*, ix. 661) among the Heads of the "old sort" addicted to "sophisticall learning"; but this may be insufficient ground for claiming him as a Humanist. From 1536 onward the College paid its quota (16^{s}) to the stipend of the Reader of the public Greek Lecture in the Schools: and in 1538 Nycolas, the stationer, receives 27^{s} for "two dictionaries, the one ebrew the other Greyke."

Though the acting of plays was not prescribed by statute at Christ's—as it was at Queens', lest the youth of that College "exercitata ad alia, pronunciando et gestu rudis et inurbana maneat" (*Documents*, iii. 54)—yet their occurrence at Christmas and the subsequent term is proved by frequent payments. Indeed, in 1545 Cambridge was disquieted because of the performance at Christ's of Kirchmeyer's play called "Pammachius," a Pope who sold himself on the usual conditions to Satan, though the usual result is not reached when the play ends. Gardiner, who had succeeded Cromwell as Chancellor in 1540, had been urging on the University the better observance of Lent; the performance of "Pammachius" in Lent may have been a retort to the Chancellor. The chief actors were two young Masters of Arts, Fellows of the College, John Crane and Nic. Greenwall. Crane was afterwards "an earnest professor of Christ in the time of Queen Marie," and "a man of great learning, much wisdom, and no less gravity," attested by his memorial in the register of Pulham St. Mary, where he died Rector in 1583. Greenwall was Fellow 1541-47, and is not improbably the Mr. Greenwall who appears as Fellow of Trinity in 1548. Information was given to Gardiner by another Fellow,

Cuthbert Scot, the future Bishop of Chester, who had just taken his B.D. degree. The play, of which an account is given by Mr. Mullinger (ii. 74), had been approved by the Master and Fellows in a slightly expurgated form, and it does not seem that any (save Scot and one other) were offended at it: though it appears strange that under the circumstances a man of Lockwood's prudence should have acquiesced in it. Gardiner was deeply indignant, and, under much pressure from him, the Vice-Chancellor (Matthew Parker) convened the Society, and also the Heads, that they might inflict such punishment as they thought fit. Nothing more was done: Parker clearly thought nothing necessary: and Gardiner obtained no more satisfaction than a judicious letter from the Privy Council to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, which suggests better employment in future for the wits of "the parties before you;" that all should "practise rest and quietness, and eschewe all occasions that might impeach the same"—in other words, that no grudge should be borne against Scot for his action in the matter.*

It is impossible in a small book to give an adequate account of all the noteworthy men who have lived in this College. I can but refer in passing to a few of them. The claim to some of our earlier worthies, it must be confessed, rests chiefly on tradition. John Mair, or Major, the Scottish scholar who studied at Cambridge in 1493, was, of course, a member of God's House, the only College situate within the parish of St. Andrew. I hope that his statement that at Cambridge they did not pay much attention to grammar does not

* The correspondence of Gardiner and Parker is given at length by Cooper (*Annals*, i. 422-427).

refer to his own College. Hugh Latimer must be surrendered to Clare Hall.* John Leland is said to have been a Fellow, and probably was a member of the College; he may have been elected Fellow between April and Michaelmas, 1523, which would agree with the date of his B.A. degree, 152½. Nich. Hethe was a Fellow 1521-24, when he was elected at Clare Hall. He was sent in 1534 to Germany "as Ambassador to treat concerning the King's great cause of matrimony and other matters," for which office he was recommended by Lockwood, the Master, as "a most secret man."† His "sincere mind towards his Prince" (Cranmer's words) brought him the Bishoprics of Rochester and of Worcester in turn; but he remained attached to the Papal side, and was made Lord Chancellor and Archbishop of York by Mary. He lost both places under Elizabeth.

Richard Cheyney was B.A. at Christ's in 1528-29, then Fellow of Pembroke, again at Christ's as Fellow 1534-47, afterwards Provost of Eton and Bishop of Gloucester, "the object of loathing to the heretics and shame to the Catholics." One of half a dozen educated at this College, and afterwards among the first Fellows of Trinity, was Nic. Carr, first pupil of Scot at Christ's, then of Ridley at Pembroke; but he adhered

* I suspect that he was assigned to Christ's on the strength of Foxe's statement that he (Latimer) had against him "swarmes of friers and doctors . . . amongst whom was Dr. Watson, Master of Christ's Colledge, whose schollar Latimer had been before." Latimer was Fellow of Clare in 1509; Watson did not come to Christ's till 1517. The difficulty would be solved if it could be discovered that Latimer was at Peterhouse before he was at Clare: but Dr. Porter tells me that his name does not occur, though there is a full list of the scholars of the time.

† *Calendar of State Papers* (Domestic), vol. vii., No. 19.

to the old faith; he was Professor of Greek 1547-62. Another was Ste. Nevynson, afterwards a noted iconoclast. A third was Ottiwell Holinshed,* cousin of Raphael, the chronicler, and probably his collaborator (Cooper, *Ath. Cant.* i. 431).

Edmund Grindal was for some time at Christ's: but he was first at Magdalene, and he graduated at Pembroke. He showed his affection to this College by leaving it a silver-gilt cup, value £13 6^{s} 8^{d}. It has disappeared: for the cup which used to be called his was called so wrongly. Nic. Grimald, the translator of the *De Officiis*, and the earliest of the poets of our College, studied here for five years, and was B.A. 15$\frac{3}{4}\frac{9}{0}$; he afterwards went to Oxford, where he was received into Henry VIII.'s new College. Another poet of Christ's, of somewhat later date, Barnaby Googe (translator of the *Zodiake of Life* and of *Four Bookes of Husbandrie*), commemorates "his wyt and worthy eloquens and learnynge deepe." Of martyrs we had but few. Tho. Dusgate, a pupil of Luther, whom he visited in Germany, was burned in 1531-32 at Exeter for publicly denying the intercession of saints; and Will. Exmew, the Carthusian monk, was hanged at

* I claim him on the following grounds: the first ordinary evidence of membership of a college, before the college admission books begin (generally in the seventeenth century), is the University Matriculation List, which goes back to 1544. But our Account Books, between 1531 and 1544, give the names of about six score scholars who were sick, and had their commons allowed them out of Hall. One Holinshed was sick as an undergraduate scholar in 1538, and again as a Bachelor in 1542. Ottiwell Holinshed was B.A. (no college given) in 154½: so the dates exactly tally. I confess that I should prefer to claim Raphael, who is said to have been at some (unknown) college at Cambridge; and I cherish an imagination that he may be the same as one "Holingheade" who was matriculated from Christ's (probably in his third year) in 1544.

Tyburn in 1535 for denying the King's supremacy. John Mallory, of Christ's, recanted at Oxford.

The Mastership of Richard Wilkes (1548-53) brings us to the days of Edward VI. Wilkes did not belong to Christ's College till his election at Malton on 3 June 1548. He was a Fellow of Queens' in 1525, where he supported the reforming President, Dr. Mey. On his ejection from the Mastership in the first year of Mary, December 1553, he received a pension from the College of £8, due, according to Adam Wall, to their sense of his good service. Another account implies that it was paid by his successor, Cuthbert Scot, which I should like to believe. He died at Ely (where he was Canon), and was buried in St. Mary's Church 15 October 1556. In December Mere, the Bedell, "prysed certain stuffe of Mr. Wilkes at Jesus College," and sent it on to Ely.

He was a member, but hardly a leader, of the reforming party. Cole (MSS., xx. 50) says:

"that he was one of Cranmer's tools is evident by his making use of him to write to Bucer to desire of him impartially to review the Book of Common Prayer as translated into Latin by Alex. Alesius, a Scotch reformer."

It is probable that Wilkes joined Cranmer in the invitation to Bucer to accept the Regius Professorship of Divinity; at all events, Bucer put up at Christ's on his arrival at Cambridge in 1549. Cole notes that in 1551 Wilkes

"was one that was present at the death of Dr. Redman, Master of Trinity College, whose religion being afterwards called in question, our Dr. Wilkes* was desired to give his

* I do not find that he took a higher degree than B.D.

testimony concerning that matter, which he accordingly did in a little book."

Neither Wilkes nor any member of the College was included among Edward's Visitors, though they opened their proceedings 5 May 1549 at the lodge, and seem to have held most of their meetings there during the two months in which they inquired into the condition of the several Colleges. With Christ's and others they dealt lightly, but spent much of their time on Peterhouse, Clare and Jesus.

The "College causes" still required much expenditure of time and money, though less than in Lockwood's time. Edward's reign was almost over when the Bromhill question was finally settled. The pension of £20 from Weeting was formally surrendered by the College: which also waived its claim for £420, the arrears of twenty-one years during which the pension had been unpaid; and the King gave in recompense the manor and parsonage of Bourne, near Cambridge. I find "Burn" as an item for the first time in the 1552-53 accounts, when £28 was received for the parsonage, and £15 0^{s} 5^{d} for the manor. It was doubtless considered that the addition to the College revenue sufficed to support the additional Fellow and three scholars, who have ever since been called by the name of King Edward VI: for there is no separate foundation for their maintenance. It was stated thirty years later (in the dispute concerning Hugh Broughton, see p. 87) that the Fellowship was founded for a distinguished physician of the College, and for ten years from 1562 it was held by a layman, though a prebendary (see p. 74).

I do not know what authority there is for Fuller's story that a "covetous courtier" urged Edward to take

away some of the Fellowships because the Society considered themselves to be founded in imitation of Christ and the twelve Apostles: and that the King replied that he had a better way of "marring their conceit," by adding a thirteenth. The story, at least, is not inconsistent with the facts given above.

The plays in the Hall continued through the reformed period. In 1550 Sir Stephenson, a Bachelor Fellow, had 23^{s} for "his play"; he also had 5^{s} for "pricking and making songs for the quere." In 1551 "the young men that took pains in Sir Stephenson's play" had 12^{d} expended on them. The tables in the Hall were removed by carpenters, and set up again "with the houses"—*i.e.*, the scenery, as I suppose; and Edmund tailer had 8^{d} for "mending the fool's coat." In 1552-53 four bills for "the plaies" amount to £5 5^{s}, and fetching the players' "gere" cost 6^{s} 8^{d}; also "an entertainment given to the Worship of the Town and University which resorted to the College to see the plaies" cost 32^{s} 3^{d}. There was money spent "in vales at sundrie rehersings of the tragedie between Xmas and Festingham [*sic*] and in the plaie time." Making a pair of velvet shoes "due since the Tragedie" cost 12^{d}.

Under Mary the plays still went on under the charge of Mr. Stephenson. There was "a latten plaie" in 1553: and there were "shows," *e.g.*, "spent on a show going to the Kyng's Colledge," 26^{s}. A passage in Mere's Diary throws light on their character: "Item a show in trinite colledge in ther courte of the wynninge of a holde and takinge of prisoners, with waytes, trumpetts, gonnes, and squybbes" (Lamb, *Documents*, p. 196). I find a payment of 2^{d} "for sedge when the Christen-

mass lordes came at Candlemas to the Colledge with shewes"—this was in Edward's time—and for "the lorde of S. Andrewes [parish] and his company resorting to the Colledge," 2s 5d. Fuller's defence of these "lords of misrule" and of other Christmas license will be remembered:

"Some sixty years since [*i.e.*, toward the end of the sixteenth century] it was solemnly debated betwixt the heads to debar young scholars of that liberty allowed them in Christmas, as inconsistent with the discipline of students. But some grave governors maintained the good use thereof, because thereby in twelve days they more discover the dispositions of scholars than in twelve months before."*

In July 1553 Cambridge was disturbed by the luckless proclamation of Lady Jane Grey by her father-in-law, the Duke of Northumberland, Chancellor of the University. He left London on 14 July with a small force, and arrived here on the 15th. On the same day Mr. Bovill, Senior Fellow of the College, rode to Ely to see the Master, who was apparently keeping his residence there as Canon of the Cathedral, "to learn what should be done in the entertainment of the nobilitie then resorting to Cambridge." It was a perplexing question. The Master was a Protestant, but he was also a prudent man, and he can hardly have augured well of Northumberland's rising. But it was equally hard for him to decline hospitality. Accordingly a pike and a "breme" were sent to the Duke for his goodwill to the College: and lodgings were found therein for "my Lord Graie"—probably Lord John Grey, youngest son of the Marquis of Dorset, afterwards implicated in Sir

* See Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 112, note.

Thomas Wyatt's rebellion, and condemned to death, but pardoned by Mary. He was welcomed in the College with a pottle of white wine and another of claret, and ten kilderkins of "double beare" were laid in for his use. On the 17th he accompanied Northumberland on his march to Bury to meet the forces of Mary. On the 18th he fell back with his leader to Cambridge, and was consoled, so far as might be, by the faithful College with a pottle of "white" and another of sack. He got safely from Cambridge, for his name is not in the list of prisoners (including the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellor) taken up to the Tower; he left behind a bill for 16d., which the College discharged, for "butter, vinegre, verjouce* and salt." The College had another heavy bill to pay for "washing in the warr-tyme"—a large phrase for so poor a fiasco; but the Fellows so suddenly brought into the main current of English history had doubtless many tales to tell of it in after days. The mutability of human affairs is comically illustrated by our accounts. In a short time a pike and a tench were provided for the Earl of Arundel, who arrested Northumberland on 20 July, and for Sir Thomas Hudleston of Sawston, who had been Mary's host before she went down to Norfolk. A little later Sir Thomas had "a pottle of hipocras from the Master in the College name." The matter ended with a friendly visit from Sir Walter Mildmay on 27 July in the Queen's name to inquire for "harnes," if any were remaining in the College.

It does not appear how far the University sympathised with the general rejoicing of England at Mary's acces-

* Used as a sauce with boiled capon, crab, goose, etc. (Skeat, *Notes to Piers Plowman*, p. 106).

sion. It had not suffered from the spoliation of the preceding reign. Its Chancellor had been Mary's chief opponent, and several of its leading men had joined him, but his abortive rebellion must have produced a reaction in favour of the new régime. Beyond any doubt, most of the older members of the University, and many of the more active among the younger men, were still Romanist at heart. The "rabble of unlearned Papists," as Foxe calls them, who pulled Vice-Chancellor Sandys out of his seat at the congregation of July 20, only represented the general feeling. On August 13 the University wrote to Gardiner, their restored Chancellor, imploring him to give back to Cambridge "its ancient liberty," and to abolish the "nephariæ leges" which were entangling consciences without advancing knowledge (Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 79); the reference is —in part, at least—to the subscription required in June, 1553, to the Forty-two Articles before anyone could proceed to the M.A. or to any higher degree, which, as Mr. Mullinger says (ii. 146), "marks the first introduction of a principle in the organization of our academic institutions, which, even in our own days, has been warmly defended, and by not a few reluctantly abandoned." It naturally led to a like subscription two years later in the interest of Romanism, when Gardiner forbade any to vote or to receive degrees till they "profess by articles the Catholic doctrine now received." He did not personally visit Cambridge, but sent his chaplain, Thomas Watson, who with the Vice-Chancellor and the Bedells "came to view the state of the Colledge on August 26 at a supper at our M$^{r's}$ Lodge." Six days earlier Mary wrote to the Chancellor and the Heads to frame themselves after the ancient statutes and ordin-

ances, notwithstanding any injunctions or new ordinances made since the death of Henry VIII. This led to a large change of Heads and some ejection of Fellows. At Christ's Wilkes was removed, and was succeeded by Cuthbert Scot. In the Society great changes took place throughout the reign, but it does not appear that any Fellows were ejected. Five disappeared between Christmas 1553 and Lady Day 1554; among them Gabriel Goodman, the future Dean of St. Paul's, formerly of St. John's. Two of their successors may have been members of other Colleges, but there is no sign of any great importation of aliens into the College in Mary's reign, such as took place a hundred years later. At the end of 1554 Henry Bovill, the Senior Fellow, went to Kegworth, receiving at his departure 20^{s} "for pains taken for the College"; and Edward Hawford, the Master of Elizabeth's day, went to Clipston. In 1555 five more new Fellows appear, of whom two only remain till 1561. In 1557 four disappear, one of whom, Thomas Clayton, had been elected in 1554 as the first King Edward Fellow, and was already Senior after three years' tenure. In 1558 five go off. This extraordinarily rapid succession of Fellows has no parallel at any other time.

Cuthbert Scot, elected 6 December 1553, seventh Master of the College, has already appeared on the scene in the "Pammachius" affair. He ceased to be a Fellow in 1547, probably finding the Edwardian régime not to his taste, and soon after he became Rector of Beeford, Yorks. As Master in 1554 he was appointed a Prebendary of St. Paul's, and in the same year he was one of the Cambridge men sent to dispute with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer at Oxford. In 1556

he was made Bishop of Chester, and resigned his Mastership.

During the first year of his office he busied himself in repairing the desolation made in the chapel during the last reign, when the tabernacles and high altar had been removed and some ornaments sold. But no expensive work seems to have been undertaken. There is no charge for any stonework: but two wooden altars were set up—one more in the next year—and there is a charge for nails for "the sepulcre." Several antiphoners were purchased, and with these "another book of Divine Service sometime belonging to our Foundress"; this apparently had been bought by a Mr. Fenyes, from whom it was now re-purchased for £22 13s 4d. Vestments were mended (having therefore not been all sold): "tabbes" were sewn on all the albs, and the vestments of red velvet, the blue altar-cloths, the "grene repe of tisshewe" and the "quotidian vestment" were repaired. The "orgaines" were mended, and there was buying of candlesticks and censers and corporases; also "four rector staves heads, two of silver and two gilt, for £4 16s"; also "a belt of hare for the altar"; next year the "hares of the altars" were stitched. Mr. Shaw, a Fellow, received 20s for his pains about the chapel. The exequiæ and the dirges of course reappear.

Dr. Scot was Vice-Chancellor during part of the year 1555, taking the place of Dr. Glynn of Queen's, who did not complete his term. He was again elected for 1555-56. During this time and during the visitation of 1556-57 he was unquestionably the most influential man in the University. While Vice-Chancellor he was appointed with three others to draw up the articles of

subscription for degrees. These articles* were fifteen in number, very thoroughgoing, and ended with a "detestation" of all heretics from Zwinglius to Bucer. Lamb (p. 175) gives the list of those residents who subscribed on 26 July 1555; of this College were Cuthbert Scot, Edward Hawford, William Taylor, Robert Shaw, John Goodryke, George Otway, William Saunderson, and John Hammond, who as Fellow "read" the Greek lecture in the College.†

But Scot's period of greatest activity at Cambridge falls within the Mastership of his successor. William Taylor, eighth Master (1556-59), was elected on 9 December 1556, as is expressly stated in Mere's contemporary diary. Very strangely the third Audit Book gives as the date 9 September 1557, and the same appears in the Registry Book, 92 (1), which contains documents concerning the College; but the sequence of events given by Mere shows incontestably that his date is the true one. Taylor was made Prebendary of York in 1558, and of Southwell in April, 1559. After Elizabeth's accession it became clear that his term of office would be short; there is an ominous reference to a supper, "at which Master Tailer made his counte." In June 1559 he disappeared. Pory, writing to Cecil,‡ reported that he had absconded and did not stand clear with the College,

* Given at length by Lamb in his *Documents of C. C. C.*, and also by Cooper (*Annals*, ii. 95).

† On the piece of paper printed on the back of this list are the further names of Ste. Nevynson (now of Trinity) and of Percyvall. Lamb doubts whether these may not be persons who did not sign, and were there noted. I think that some of the names show that it is probably an additional list.

‡ *Calendar of State Papers* (Eliz.), iv. 132.

"departing from thence somewhat strangely, leaving his chamber much disordered, his garments cast in corners, and the rushes tumbled or heaped, and the College writings scattered here and there."

His place of retirement must have been known ; for in 1560 there is a charge for Sir Todde and Sir Chatterton riding to Mr. Taylor on College business: but nothing further is known of him. The College under Hawford dealt with some of his debts. There is an entry :

"Paid the Brewers upon the old arrereges, the which Mr. Otwaie [no doubt as steward] must pay 40s. a year by obligation, or else Mr. Tailer must pay the same *ut patet* by a bill of his hands, £10."

It may be hoped that the money was forthcoming from Mr. Otway. It is likely enough that the rents were irregularly paid in these unsettled times, and probably a good deal was left unpaid by the very transient Fellows. There is an entry in 1554-55 :

"Taken out of the Treasury by consent of the whole company in desperate debts without all hope of recovery, £65 13^{s} 3^{d}."

Gardiner's last years were more occupied in burning heretics than in amending Cambridge. He died in November 1556, and he was succeeded by the impetuous Cardinal Pole. Pole at once appointed a Commission: and their proceedings at Cambridge in the winter of 1556-57 are amusingly described by the Registrary, J. Mere, who was present throughout. Mere's account is given by Lamb (*Documents*, 184-236), but as Bishop Scot was the guiding spirit among the Visitors, extracts from Mere's Diary may not be out of place here. His colleagues were two Bishops elect—

of Lincoln and of Chichester, viz., Dr. Watson, Gardiner's former chaplain, Master of St. John's for a short time, then Dean of Durham, and John Christopherson, Master of Trinity; Nicholas Ormanet, the Pope's Datary; and Dr. Cole, Dean of St. Paul's. Despite Mr. Orator Stokes's speech of welcome, their presence does not seem to have been desired by the University. It was not a pleasant time. The plague was still in Cambridge, as it had been during the whole of 1556, and infected houses were closed. There was also famine, causing many deaths from sheer want; for its relief—besides measures taken by the town—the Vice-Chancellor had all the Heads of houses before him "with all their companyes" to make provision for the poor. There were no sermons throughout the town, and hardly any plays in the Colleges. The weather was gloomy; Mere, who in praiseworthy fashion describes the character of each day before he recounts its events, gives a long record of "rayne a lytle and greate myste," "faire till 3 in the afternone and then rayne plentye," "very sore froste with colde wynde," or (a trifle better) "a lyttle mislinge but wetted lyttle." In this environment Bishop Scot, who was just relieved of his Mastership, but was waiting in Cambridge for his colleagues, took the field. On December 27, when

"Mr. Bell sange his first masse at Peterhowse and had a good offering, the Lorde of Christes Colledge (says Mere sarcastically) came Xstmaslyke thyther with a drum before hym."

In requital of this, on the next day

"the Vic. offred at Xst's College with Mr. Jonson and after that vysyted my Lorde of Chester beinge sycke."

My Lord does not reappear for some days, and meanwhile

"the Vic. (Dr. Perne of Peterhouse), Dr. Harvye (afterwards Master of Trin. Hall), and Mr. Swynbourne (Master of Clare Hall) wente to the scholes to peruse over our bulles, supposinge by them to be exempte from this visitacion, but we founde not pregnant matter."

On January 4 Dr. Scot is sufficiently restored to dine with the Master of Clare Hall. By January 9 his colleagues were all here. On Monday January 11 at 7 a.m. the work began, the whole University *in habitibus* meeting at St. Mary's. Thence the Visitors went to Trinity; then

"processionaliter we wente to the King's College to a Masse of the Holy Ghost, my Lord of Chester and his Datarye occupying the Provost's place, and the elect of Lyncoln and Dr. Cole the Vice-Provost's place, all the graduates being in the quere."

Then they went to St. Mary's again, where they opened the Commission; the Bishop made a "collation" out of Esdras, and summoned all the regents and non-regents to the schools at three. Then they dined at Trinity College. At three all were present, when the Bishop in a short "proposition" invited any that had anything to say to do so. Then all the statutes, foundations, bulls, etc., were required, and also the numerous "chests" from which loans were made to poor students; with respect to these the Visitors eventually were much dissatisfied, whereas the keepers of the chests (or "hutches," as Mere calls them) blamed the Registrary for not paying them their money, as he himself records. Then the "Doctors and Readers" were examined as to

the hours and place of their "reding and disputation": and lastly the Vice-Chancellor and the Senior Proctor were singly questioned.

"My Lorde of Chester and the Datary with one Register upon the Vic. at thupper ende of the house, and my Lorde of Lyncoln and D. Cole at the nether ende with a nother Register upon the Senior Proctor."

This was a good beginning of their work. It continued till February 17. But the results of this most exacting inquiry into the University, and the several Colleges—for all were visited—were but small. Certainly, after long debate and after the pitiful formality of summoning dead men to appear before them, they burned the remains of Bucer and Fagius as heretics.* It may be conjectured that they cared most about the conspicuous revival of the ancient ritual and observances. One example may be taken: the procession after the "hallowing" of St. Mary's, following upon the removal of the interdict laid on it for the burial of Bucer therein, on Sunday, February 7, when the Bishop officiated with the Master of Christ's and Messrs. Percyvall and Collingwood (both of Christ's) his chaplains waiting on him in "grey amyses."

"On Munday [8 February] *generalis processio regentium et non* [*regentium*] *hora 7 et omnium studentium in Collegio Trinitatis et quilibet in habitu,* the curattes lykwyse with the crosse and copes were warned to be there by the Comissarye and the Mayre and Aldermen in their skarlettes with torches brenninge, with the baylyffes and burgesses, every of the vysitors every Doctor and every Master of a College

* I have an interesting old engraving of the scene, with Bishop Scot under his "canopy."

had lykyse a torche and Drs. Harvye Mowse Hatcher and Walker bore the canopy, and my lorde of Chester in Xtes College best cope with a fyne lawne garnished with golde over the same, caryed the sacramente in a lytle monstrat belonginge to Gonvyle Hall, and first the strewers and crosses with the curattes in copes sett furthe, then all the scholeres not graduates, and the scholeres servantes after them, then the bachelors, and regentes, doctores, the sacramente, the visitors, the non-regentes, the mayre and aldermen, and last baylyffes and burgesses, fyrst by S. Johns to the rowne parysshe, and so throwghe the petycury rounde abowte the markett hyll, then throwghe the bocherye by Benet churche, and so to S. Maryes synginge *salve festa dies* all the waye. Then masse songe by the Vic. with deacon and subdeacon in piksonge and organs. And after masse my L. of Chester preached and stoode till halfe howre after xi. . . . Item, the Canabye (canopy) was a fyre agayne, as it was on Corpus Xti daye agaynst the maltemyll, and ther putt furthe. Item iiii tall scholeres caryd torches about the sacramente, whose gownes were wonderfully rayed with dyrte, as many others wer, doctors and others."*

The College had no more to do with Cuthbert Scot after February 17, when, active as ever, he went from Christ's at six in the morning to see his fellow-visitors depart from Trinity, returned to Christ's, dined there with many dignitaries, after dinner "confirmed certayne children," and "took his horse abowte xi," and so departed to tend his flock at Chester. His merits in that work, or his demerits, are given in amusing verses.† According to the Romanist Richard Shacklock, in the

* Lamb, *Documents*, p. 218.

† See Cooper's *Ath. Cant.*, i. 234.

days when "heresy the hound of hell" was tearing England in pieces,

"Then Cuthbert Scot of Briton bloud, a newe sprong starre indede,
At Chester very painfully his faithfull flocke dyd fede, . . .
This shepard warred against the wolfe, and to his charge he stande [? stonde]
When he might well have toke his fete, he toke him to his hande," etc.

Equally alliterative and more pointed is the retort of Thomas Drant:

"Whilst error had through Britain land his mysty mantle spred,
Whilst syn brought gain, and truth brought pain, whilst all unclenenes bred,
One Cuthbert Scot, the Chester flock auctorised to kepe,
Let louse the wolfes, and he most wolfe with ravin rent his shepe,
A cutting Cutbert sure he was, a cutter for the nones,
He cut the fleece, supt up the mylke, and broylde the flesh and bones," etc.

At least he was constant to his convictions. His vigorous speeches in the House of Lords at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign are recorded by Strype. He protested against the Bill for the restitution of Tenths and of first-fruits to the Crown.* Refusing to take the oath of supremacy, he was deprived of his bishopric and heavily fined; as he would not pay the fine, he was

* *Annals*, Appendix, Nos. 7 and 10. There also will be found the speech—against the Royal Supremacy—of another quondam Fellow of Christ's, Nic. Hethe.

thrown into the Fleet; thence he escaped after some years' confinement and died in 1565 an exile at Louvain.

The only references to public events in the somewhat meagre College audit-books during Mary's reign are a charge for a "boonefire" at the coming of the King (*i.e.*, Philip) in August 1554; and "laid forth by Mr. Thomson at the rumour of the Queen's delivery, 15^{s} 4^{d}."

The College accounts about this time bear witness to the state of the coinage. In 1553 there is a note: "There was lost in testers and two-penny pieces which were in the little chest and counted for 12^{d} and 4^{d} a piece, 31^{s} 7^{d}." In 1560 there is an entry: "Perditum in base money £6 5^{s} 8^{d}; also in pistells [pistoles] and frenche crownes £7 7^{s} 8^{d}." Mere in his diary, 24 December 1556, reports that "certayne came from London of the K. College, and told that it was proclaymed in London that no man should refuse to take testons under payne of dethe."

Though there is no mention of any migration to Malton in Mary's time, it seems improbable that the students should have stayed in Cambridge during the great plague of 1556. Strype remarks on the sickness of the years 1556-58 in England; and, in fact, during that time the allowance of commons to Fellows and scholars in sickness is most exceptionally large. In 1557-58 the sick-list contains forty-one scholars, several of whom had allowance on two or three occasions.

A benefaction very typical of the time was that of Richard Risley, a Fellow in 1533, who was afterwards beneficed at Bridgham in Norfolk, and at Stretham in the Isle of Ely. He gave an estate at Upton; of the annual proceeds seven parts were to be given to a poor scholar of the surname or family of Risley; four parts

to the poor of Stretham, and two parts to the poor of Bridgham. Also by his will, dated 10 November 1556, he left a rent-charge of £5 on the manor of Walkhampton, to be given to "such as shall study Divinity, and also Priests and Preachers of God's Word according to their talent, to supply my negligence in that behalf . . . begging of such as be Priests a Dirge and a Mass once a year."

Risley must have been a lovable man—with too firm a faith in the permanence of revived Romanism.

CHAPTER IV

PURITANISM IN THE TIME OF ELIZABETH

Masters: Edward Hawford, 1559-82; Edmund Barwell, 1582-1609

In the reign of Elizabeth the College numbered some great men, and several who were notorious. I doubt whether any other contained so many residents who were in trouble for Puritanism or for Nonconformity.

Edward Hawford, ninth Master, succeeded Taylor on 23 July 1559. He was recommended by Cecil, acting on the recommendation of Dr. Pory, V.C. (*Cal. State Papers, Eliz.* iv. 66, 67). He was educated at Jesus College, and became a Fellow of Christ's in 1545. He was Senior Proctor in the difficult year 1553, but he was not compromised in Northumberland's rising. Soon after he went to Clipston; he held two-thirds of the Rectory, and left at his death the advowson to the College. During his life he played a leading part in University matters, having always a good understanding with Cecil. His prudence restored the finances of the College, and either because of his good management or because of the ability of the Fellows, the numbers

therein increased. In 1564 there were 1,267 residents in the University, of whom Trinity had 306, St. John's 184, Christ's 136. In Dr. Caius's list (1573) Christ's had 157, but the two larger Colleges had grown each by nearly 100. He was sometimes in collision with "the Puritan faction which greatly swarmed in his College," as Cole records; but, as a rule, he exercised the extensive powers of a Head under the Elizabethan statutes firmly and quietly. At his death, before he had reached the age of sixty, there was £700 in the chest; and his epitaph, which still exists on a small brass under the Communion-table, gives him the praise, "quo nemo praeses extitit frugalior." He left the College a rent-charge of £8 out of an estate at Dullingham, for a preacher (£5), and for three scholars (£1 each); also £20 for three tankards, and £20 to make up a loss in fuel incurred in his time—a sign of a conscientious Bursar.

The chief problem of the University in Hawford's time —how to deal with Puritanism and with Nonconformity —was a part of the more complicated problem which confronted Elizabeth and her counsellors. Elizabeth's conduct towards the Puritans has often been described. She needed their support against a section of her subjects who seemed to be more immediately dangerous—the Roman Catholics. But she had no liking for Calvinism with its inevitable leaning toward the reformed Churches of the Continent. The Church of England was to be independent of Geneva as of Rome. The Prayer-Book was to be accepted; Bishops were to be obeyed. The Calvinistic party acquiesced, as they were obliged by their position to do, though doubtless looking forward to a time when the Church should be reformed in their sense; indeed, Elizabeth was even able to obtain

Bishops out of their ranks. Their opinions on ritual and Church government were not interfered with so long as they held their peace and conformed. But as soon as they objected to the surplice, or to the authority of Bishops, or when they showed any tendency to sectarianism, they were in danger of the Court of High Commission, and at Cambridge of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads. The records of the University and of the College are full of citations of men who preached doctrines dangerous to the Established Church.

Elizabeth retained in her private chapel the vestments and much of the ceremonial of the ancient worship, holding such to be the true ritual of the Catholic Church, not a corruption of the Roman branch of it. Her known practice may have influenced Hawford; it was on this question he seems first to have come into collision with the new Puritan element in the society, and to have found it too strong for him. He refused to get rid of the vestments, books, etc., reintroduced by Bishop Scot, probably thinking it unsatisfactory to sell at a loss what he might have to buy again at a great price. According to Dering (Strype's *Parker*, App. No. 78), he conveyed all the best and richest to some place of which none of the Fellows knew. But in 1566 some "books" were sold "by consent of the Fellows," possibly on the hint given by the sale of the University Cross which had been purchased by Gardiner's orders, each College contributing according to rate (Christ's £2 15^{s}); in this year the money was returned, also by proportion (to Christ's £2 10^{s}). In 1568 three chalices were sold to Mr. Ringstede for £17 4^{s}, also certain "chapel stuff." In 1570 there was received £15 for copes, vestments, tunicles, and altar-cloths; and "Malton

bell," with two great candlesticks and a cross, went for £4 19s 9d. These years cover the dates of election of several Fellows who were afterwards known for their Puritan views.

But the men most influential in the College in this decade had no leaning to Puritanism. Three of them became Bishops—William Chaderton, William Hughes, and John Still. Of these Chaderton matriculated at Pembroke, but migrated to Christ's, where he appears as scholar in 1556-57,* and as Fellow 1558-68, when he was elected President of Queens'. Two years earlier he was appointed Lady Margaret Professor. In University affairs he worked with Whitgift and Hawford. In 1579 he became Bishop of Chester; in 1595 he was translated to Lincoln; he lived till 1608. He could write a play, there being a charge in 1561 for "Mr. Chatherton's plaie"—this is the usual spelling of his name in the College accounts; and he could be jocular in the pulpit, according to Sir John Harrington, who also records that "he was well beloved by scholars for not affecting any sour or austere fashion, either in teaching or governing." Anti-Puritan at Cambridge, he was active against Romanists at Chester, following the example of his Queen.

William Hughes (or Hewes) was a man of a different type. A Welshman, born at Carnarvon, he was B.A. at Queens' in 155$\frac{8}{9}$, and was elected Fellow of Christ's in 1558, and remained here till 1567; but he took no important part in the University. He accepted a benefice at Leicester, and was soon embroiled with his congregation on the question of Christ's descent into Hell. The controversy spread to Cambridge, and the

* He is commonly given as a graduate of Pembroke.

prudent Chancellor at last prohibited any disputation thereupon. In 1573 he became Bishop of St. Asaph, of which diocese he was also Archdeacon, and held in it sixteen livings. Strype's account of its condition in 1587 (*Annals*, ii. App. No. 32) is instructive.

John Still was Fellow 1562-72. He has been credited with the authorship of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, which was certainly acted in our Hall, possibly in 1563, when the expense of a play is recorded. The boisterous humour hardly suits his character as we have it recorded.* He was appointed Lady Margaret Professōr (in succession to Cartwright) in 1570. Next he became Master of St. John's (1574-77), where he compensated, says Baker (*History*, i. 168), for the inactivity of his predecessor, "the slug" Nic. Shepherd, and would have effectually rooted out Puritanism, if he had tarried long enough. Yet in 1570 he had joined in the letter to Cecil in behalf of Cartwright. In 1577, when Whitgift became Bishop of Worcester, Still succeeded him at Trinity, where he remained to the end of 1592. From 1593 till his death in 1608 he was Bishop of Bath and Wells. Lord Burleigh's phrase about him, that when thirty he was "more mortified than others of

* The title-page only says that it was "made by Mr. S., Master of Art," and played not long since at Christ's. But Still was not M.A. in 1563; and it seems at least possible that the author was Will. Stephenson (afterwards Prebendary of Durham), who, as we have already seen, superintended the plays in 1553. It is a curious fact that between 1559 and 1561 there appears as Fellow one Will. Stevenson [*sic*] as to whom I can find nothing respecting matriculation or degree. It may be that he is the same man, re-elected after Mary's death. I abstain from further comment on the question, as it is being fully investigated by Mr. Henry Bradley; but it may be added that Mr. Sidney Lee (art. "Still" in D. N. B.) also doubts the attribution to Still.

forty or fifty," has been interpreted as a proof of ascetic manners and practice. But the face shown in his portrait is quiet, firm and cheerful, as befits a good administrator; and if he were opposed to Puritanism, he was certainly no persecutor. I must add the well-known estimate of him by Sir John Harrington (who was under him, if anywhere, at Trinity), as one "to whom I never came but I grew more religious, from whom I never went but I parted better instructed" (Cooper, *Ath. Cant.*, ii. 467).

Another able man who was Fellow of Christ's till 1571 was William Lewin. In 1570 he was elected Public Orator, but held the office only for a year. He was Chancellor of Rochester and M.P. for that city; he was also a Master in Chancery and a (lay) Prebendary of St. Asaph, in which capacity he could not make up for the lack of preachers in that diocese, which Strype records (see above). In later life he urged the coercion of the sect of the Brownists, and he may certainly be counted as an enemy of schism.

A Society which numbered among its senior members these four men, and also (as it did in 1568) among its Junior Fellows John Millen, John More, and Laurence Chaderton (cousin of William), was exceptionally strong. But the new-comers were wholly Puritan, and from their accession dates the marked change of tone in the College. Puritanism indeed had since 1560 one notable exponent in our body—Edward Dering, the most learned man in England, as he was described by the hostile Archbishop Parker. His simplicity and courage give him an abiding interest. His part in history dates from his opposition to the Statutes of 1570, which will be described later. He became Senior

Fellow in 1568, and though he ceased to be a Fellow in 1570,* he resided till February (at least) in that year, and doubtless exercised much influence, especially among the younger members of the Society. His relation to the Master can hardly have been satisfactory. He classed him in his letter to Cecil (Lamb, *Documents*, p. 314) with Perne, Caius, Harvey and Ithell among the "enemies of God's Gospel, or so faint professors that they do little good in the Church." The only evidence he brings against Hawford is the retention of the chapel vestments, which doubtless seemed to him to show more depravity than it need do to us. We cannot, however, infer that he is "one in Christes College," mentioned by Beaumont in 1564, who with "sundry in St. John's will very hardly be brought to wear surplesses"; for he says of himself (and no one could doubt his truthfulness who reads his brave letter), that he has "never broken the peace of the Churche neither for Capp nor Surplesse, for Archbishop nor Byshop." The "capp" is the square cap, still in use, to which, as to the surplice, objection was taken by Zurich as well as Geneva, though Bullinger counselled his friends, now returned to England, to submit. The strength of the opposition in a matter which seems to us so trivial—five Masters of Colleges wrote to Cecil deprecating any authoritative imposition of the "habits"—might well surprise us, were it not, as Mr. Mullinger points out (*History*, ii. 195), that "the white linen garments that the mass-priest wears in the popish religion" were in the Puritan mind inseparably associated with the gorgeous vestments and ceremonies of the

* He had been collated to Pluckley in Kent by Parker in November, 1568.

ancient ritual, and seemed to be the first step to its return. Cecil was firm in the matter, and sharply handled the Masters of Trinity and St. John's, where the habits had been cast aside. Except for the expression in Beaumont's letter, I cannot find any trace of disturbance at Christ's at this time, though for many years, as appears from William Ames's opposition to Valentine Cary in the following century, the dislike to the surplice continued, and occasionally broke out.

Dr. Hawford was Vice-Chancellor in the memorable August of 1564, when Elizabeth visited the University.* Cecil, as Chancellor, was present to represent the University, but Hawford's influence doubtless was exerted to maintain during the visit the "uniformity in apparel and religion" on which Cecil insisted. He and Chaderton were among the performers in the disputations held before the Queen, in the commendable design that she might see the actual work, and not only the amusements of the University. It is curious that in her visit to Christ's on August 9 it fell to Dering to deliver to her the "oration in Greek verses," for which (as Stokes records) she rendered thanks in Greek. The Master presented her, after the fashion of the day, with two pairs of gloves."†

The year 1570 was memorable at Cambridge: first for the events which led to the expulsion of Thomas Cartwright from the Lady Margaret Professorship, and ultimately from his Fellowship at Trinity and from the University; and secondly for the New Statutes. It

* Matthew Stokes's interesting account is given in full in Cooper's *Annals*, ii. 184-204.

† "Four paier of gloves: 2 pair to the Queen's Ma^tie^ when she came to the College, a pair to my Lord Robert [Dudley], and another to Sir W. Cicell" (*Audit Book*, 1563-64).

cannot be doubted that the Cartwright disturbances hastened the advent of the Statutes, and perhaps intensified their character; but legislation of the sort had been contemplated some years earlier. The exact demerit of Cartwright as a Professor has been much debated; it seems to have puzzled Cecil himself. A dispassionate comparison of existing institutions with those of Apostolic times may contain no offence; and such a comparison Cartwright declared that he made, and no more; but a contrast which led his auditors to conclude that bishoprics and other ecclesiastical offices were "officia et nomina impietatis" was, if at any time tolerable, certainly not in the time of Elizabeth. He must be regarded as the first champion of the Puritan attack on Church government, not, as heretofore, on the mere adjuncts of worship. There can be no doubt of the piety and nobility of his character, or of the affection which that character inspired in Cambridge. This is not the place to give his story at length; it is admirably given by Mr. Mullinger (ii. 207-230). I am only concerned with the attitude of members of this College towards him. Will. Chaderton (now President of Queen's) was the first who called Cecil's attention to the Lady Margaret Professor's conduct, as was not unnatural for a former occupant of the chair.* Dr. Hawford was one of those Heads who on June 29 were prepared as members of the Caput (for which they were non-placeted) to refuse Cartwright his Doctor's degree. With Cecil's connivance, if not by his instruction, they suspended him in August from lecturing, and finally on December 11, as assessors to Whitgift (then Vice-

* His letter, and also Grindal's to the same effect, are quoted from Strype by Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 252.

Chancellor), they removed him from his Professorship. On the other hand, John Still, probably loving Cartwright's character rather than his opinions, was one of the eighteen who on July 3 eagerly exculpated him to Cecil, and bore striking witness to his character and learning. With him were Richard Howland (see p. 84), Walter Allen and Robert Holland, Fellows of Christ's. Still's name does not appear in a second letter written on August 11—the same day on which Hawford, Whitgift and Harvey wrote to inform the Chancellor that Cartwright was suspended—imploring Cecil to restore him; but in the twenty-two who sign it are four Fellows of Christ's, Allen and Holland, Will. Tabor and John More. Later, in 1572, Dering urged Cecil that Cartwright might be brought back to Cambridge as Hebrew Professor.* But Cecil, though always loath to punish, and specially patient of Dering under much provocation, was little likely to stir the fire still smouldering in the University. His whole conduct in Cartwright's matter is a remarkable illustration of his wariness.

The Statutes drawn up by Cardinal Pole in 1557 had anticipated in many ways the Statutes of Elizabeth, though they were less thorough. Each had for its object the "bridling of the untamed affections of younge regents," to use the words of Hawford, and of most of the Heads of either party, when they wrote to Cecil in the same sense in 1563-64. Reform was especially desired in the election of the Vice-Chancellor, which was made by the regents only; and in the constitution of the Caput Senatus, which fulfilled the function of

* Strype, *Annals* (Eliz.), book i., ch. xx. Cecil's reply, which is well worth reading, is given in Appendix No. 21 of the same volume.

the present Council of the Senate in preparing graces. It was appointed at and for each congregation. The effects of this arrangement at times when passion was inflamed were seen conspicuously on June 29, when the Heads, known to be unfavourable to Cartwright's degree, as Perne, Hawford, Harvey and Ithell, were successively rejected as candidates: the spirit of the regents was aroused. The Heads at once retaliated. Whitgift, who had succeeded Beaumont as Master of Trinity, conferred with Cecil, who advised consultation with the other Heads. Whitgift acted promptly, and draft Statutes were ready in August for the consideration of Cecil and Parker. They received the royal assent on September 25. So rapid was the process by which the ancient democracy was transformed into an oligarchic government, which lasted for 290 years. The change was immense.* Instead of immediate election of the Vice-Chancellor by the regents, two persons (after 1586 always Heads) were nominated by the Heads for election by the regents and the non-regents, *i.e.*, by the whole resident body, not merely the younger members of it.† The Caput was elected for a whole year by the Heads and Doctors in the several faculties, from lists submitted to them by the Chancellor (practically the Vice-Chancellor) and Proctors. Each member of the Caput so elected could put a veto upon any grace. The powers of the Proctors were abridged; their authority in regulating lectures passed over to

* See Dean Peacock's *Observations*, 45-53; also Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 258.

† Till 1538 the period of regency was one year from M.A. It was then extended to two years. Under Edward VI. it became three years, and it was now extended to five years. At the end of that period regents became *ipso facto* non-regents.

the Heads as assessors of the Chancellor, in which capacity they also acted in matters of discipline. The Proctors retained the power, once important, of creating and admitting regents, the shadow of which still survives in the creation of Masters of Arts at a congregation on Commencement Day, attended by officials only. Lastly, each Head was allowed in the management of his own College an absolute veto—the "vox negativa" of which so much is heard in the coming years; it was hardly touched by the statutes of 1860; but it disappeared in 1882.

It is impossible not to sympathise with the indignation which these Statutes caused in Cambridge. But the first protest came from outside. Dering wrote to Cecil on November 18 a letter which is distinguished, as Mr. Mullinger says, "for its courage rather than its discretion."* It is a protest:

"If to-morrow nexte the number of mie daies were ended, and I should cease to live in this mortal bodye, yet this daie I would send these letters unto yow, so fully am I determined in the Lorde to speake onlie the truthe."

But it is a protest merely, and there is no sign that the writer expects any modification of the statutes. Cecil, he says, has been led to send his "unrighteouse statutes" to Cambridge, by the information of the Heads. Dering describes those Heads: they have "particular" faults, on which he will not dwell, but

"they have common faultes of which they are all partakers. . . . They keepe Benefices and be non-residentes. While they are clothed in scarlet, ther flockes perish for

* ii. 234. It will be found at length as No. 78 in the Appendix to Strype's *Parker*.

cold: and while they fare deliciouslie, ther people are faint with a most miserable hunger. This faulte is intolerable and suche as God abhorreth: and your handes are in the strengtheninge of it, except yow reforme it."

Therefore he prays Cecil to send down another statute, "that no Master of a House shall have a Benefice except he serve it himself:" and begs him not to be distracted by the great business of the Commonwealth from regarding the discipline of the Church. In this protest we hear a cry against a clergy believed to be corrupt, which is curiously like Milton's outburst nearly seventy years later against the shepherds of his day:

> "Of other care they little reckoning make
> Than how to scramble at the shearer's feast,
> And shove away the worthy bidden guest:
> * * * * *
> The hungry flock look up and are not fed."

Cecil was not moved either by Dering or by the "supplication" against the statutes, dated 6 May 1572, of 134 resident members, several of whom either then or formerly belonged to Christ's—as Humphrey Tindall, Richard Bancroft, Laurence Chaderton (the future Master of Emmanuel), Edward Barwell (who succeeded Hawford at Christ's). In Strype (*Annals*, vol. ii. Eliz., App. no. 28) will be found another paper of Dering's, presented to the Lords of the Star Chamber in answer to charges respecting a speech he had made at some public dinner. He was charged with having censured the provision for the poor made by Act of Parliament. This he denies in the same high tone: "I thank God I have better learned than in Dishes and

Cups to blame so proudly the State of a Kingdom." He concludes his reply with much point: "I beseech your Honours with favour to remember that, seeing my private speeches so long time have been so narrowly searched, if my open Preaching had been more faulty, it had been more easily known." The date is 27 November 1573. Dering's long letter (November 1573) intended for the Council, but ultimately sent to Burleigh only, on the unlawfulness of the civil government of Bishops, will be found in Strype, *Annals*, vol. ii. (Eliz.), pp. 270-79. His views had developed since the time when he repudiated any attack on Episcopal government; and he might have gone still further had his life been longer. But he died in June 1576 aged about thirty-five.

After a rejoinder of the Heads and a reply of the regents, Cecil referred the matter to Parker, Grindal, Sandys (now Bishop of London) and Cox, Bishop of Ely. Parker had approved the Statutes beforehand, and Grindal and Sandys had been tempered by office since their return from exile. The four, together with the Bishop of Bangor, who had been added to them, were of opinion that "the Statutes as they be drawen maie yet stand, and no greate cause whie to make anie alteration." They met with no further opposition at Cambridge. The Proctors, indeed—John Beacon, of St. John's (also Public Orator), and Art. Purefoy (B.A. Christ's 1560, then Fellow of Peterhouse)—endeavoured to carry on an irregular war against the Heads, as may be seen in Cooper (*Annals*, ii., 304-9). Dr. Hawford, while Deputy Vice-Chancellor, cleverly parried a disingenuous attempt of Beacon to claim the Chancellor's authority on his side: and Burleigh promptly

repudiated the Proctor with the significant hint that he "may not suffer this manner of rashnesse to encrease without temperynge it with some colder humor, to reduce the same to modestie."

John Millen (or Milayn), Fellow 1568-73, was the first of the Society (after Dering) who was challenged for his opinions. He preached at St. Mary's on 4 October 1573. If we may trust the heads of his sermon as sent to Burleigh by Vice-Chancellor Byng (the same who distinguished himself at the bonfire of Dr. Caius's property in Caius College), Millen's views were an exaggeration of Dering's.*

"Ignorant ministers were no ministers, because they were not chosen by God. For they which were chosen by God, them God had always endued with understanding sufficient. But in these were found no such sufficiency. Therefore they were no ministers."

The logical form is satisfactory, but the minor premiss rests too much on private judgment. He continues that holy days of saints and fasting on the eves of saints' days were idolatrous. He met with short shrift from Byng and the Heads. On October 26 he refused to recant, and was at once ejected from College and University. Millen is coupled by Strype with Dering, Cartwright, and others as men "of some learning who had made a strong impression on some of the younger students."

John More, Fellow 1568-72, left Cambridge without any mishap, and passed the rest of his life at Norwich, where he died in 1592, "the master of nearly all the arts and many tongues, especially Latin and Greek"; "he made the excellent map of the land of Palestine."†

* Strype, *Whitgift*, p. 48, App. No. 12; Cooper, *Ath. Cant.*, i. 322.
† Fuller-Prickett-Wright, 184.

Though defended by Bishop Parkhurst "as a godly and learned man," when charged with refusing to wear the surplice, he is said to have been ultimately suspended. His portrait shows a noble and pleasant face, with a huge beard, worn "that no act of his life might be unworthy of the gravity of his appearance."

The history of Laurence Chaderton, Fellow 1568-77, belongs to Emmanuel rather than to Christ's. A strong Puritan, he was yet eminently a peacemaker, both at Christ's and during his long Mastership of Emmanuel (1584-1622). Even in his one controversy (with Peter Baro) he was gentle.

Among other Fellows of Hawford's time are two Bishops: (1) Antony Watson (1573-83), "a very good preacher, preferred by the Queen [whose Almoner he was, and at whose death-bed he was present] first to the Deanery of Bristow [Bristol], where he was well beloved, and after to [the Bishopric of] Chichester, where he was more honoured, if not [more] beloved."* He was Bishop 1596-1605, and took part in the Hampton Court Conference. He was a great benefactor to our Library, though no writer himself. (2) Brute Babington (1577-84), Dean of Lichfield 1592-1601, and Bishop of Derry to his death in 1611.

Three other future Bishops were educated at Christ's, but were elected to Fellowships elsewhere: (1) Richard Howland, B.A. $156\frac{9}{1}$ (at St. John's, according to Cooper, but erroneously, for he appears as scholar here in that year). In 1562 he was elected Fellow of Peterhouse, in 1576 Master of Magdalene, and in 1577 Master of St. John's. He was very active in University business.

* *Nugæ Antiquæ*, ii. 187.

He was Bishop of Peterborough (1585-1600) when he died. (2) Hugh Bellot (or Byllet), B.A. 156$\frac{3}{4}$, and Fellow of Jesus in 1567. He became Bishop of Bangor in 1585, and was translated to Chester in 1595, but died in the next year. (3) Richard Bancroft, B.A. 156$\frac{8}{7}$, like Bellot elected to a Fellowship at Jesus, Bishop of London 1597, and Archbishop of Canterbury 1604-10. His work was done in a larger field than Cambridge; but it is pleasant to remember how in a town and gown riot, when both were students at Christ's, Laurence Chaderton saved Bancroft's life—"licet abscissa propemodum dextra propria," says Chaderton's biographer, Dillingham. "The incident proved the foundation of a friendship which lasted as long as their joint lives, and Bancroft, severe and inquisitorial as was his administration of the primacy, could never bring himself to deal harshly with Puritan Emmanuel" (Mullinger, ii. 477).

Humphrey Tindall, who played a prominent part in the University, was also educated here. He matriculated at a very early age at Gonville Hall, but seems not to have come into residence. He was afterwards scholar and B.A. at Christ's in 156$\frac{8}{7}$, ten years after his matriculation; then elected a Fellow of Pembroke; and afterwards President of Queens' from 1579 to his death in 1614. For the last thirteen years of his life he was also Dean of Ely.

In the next generation John Richardson, also a leading man in the University, was a graduate of Christ's, then Fellow of Emmanuel. He was Regius Professor of Divinity 1607-17, Master of Peterhouse 1609-15, and Master of Trinity 1615-25, "omnium iudicio dignus præfectura" even as the successor of Neville.

Another Master (of Pembroke College), though of a somewhat later date, Benjamin Lany, was educated here, and was B.A. in 161½. He was ejected from his Mastership, but restored in 1660, and was Bishop successively of Peterborough, Lincoln, and Ely.

But the greatest scholar of his time at Christ's was Hugh Broughton, Fellow 1572-78, "the great Albionean divine, renowned in many Nations for rare skill in Salem's and Athen's Tongues, and familiar acquaintance with all Rabbinical learning," as he is described by a good judge, John Lightfoot, also educated at Christ's, the greatest Hebraist of the next century. A strong Puritan, holding "the absolute incorruptness of the text of both Testaments, including the Hebrew points,"* he was through life an eager disputant in England and on the Continent, where he travelled much. His style is pleasantly hinted at by Bishop Morton in the words: "I pray you, whatsoever dolts and dullards I am to be called, call me so before we begin, that your discourse and my attention be not interrupted thereby." "Very opinionative" he was, says Fuller, and despite the affection with which his pupils regarded him, it is easy to believe that he may have been an unruly member of the Society.

The most serious discord in Hawford's time concerned Broughton. He had been collated to a prebend at Durham in 1578, and a year later Hawford wrote to Lord Burleigh that Broughton could no longer retain his Fellowship. To this Broughton (who had strong support) demurred, taking the ground that he had not

* *D. N. B.*, vi. 460, where a good account of his life and work is given.

had due notice: and on that ground, though insufficient, he clearly had the sympathy of many of the Fellows. But the dispute was now conducted on a different line. Broughton had been King Edward Fellow, and he maintained that he might be as such a Fellow at the same time with another of the same county, and that he was not bound to be in Orders. This makes it probable that he desired to resign his prebend and return to Cambridge as Fellow, and that Hawford met him on this ground. After many appeals to Burleigh, Dr. Perne, Vice-Chancellor in 1581, decided that the county limitation did not apply to the Edwardian Fellow. But Broughton was not restored, though Strype says he was (*Annals*, Eliz., ii. p. 614); nor does he seem to have had any connection with Cambridge after 1580. The second question (as to Orders) remained open till 1584, when Hawford had passed away. In that year Dr. Howland, as Vice-Chancellor, decided that the Fellow might be a layman. A strange result followed. The Chancellor, on 15 October 1584, issued from Lambeth a decision which overthrew both Perne's and Howland's. He declared that they had both looked too much to the special statute, and too little to the statutes as a whole, and ordered Thomas Osborne, the existing Fellow, who after three years had not been ordained, to obtain Priest's Orders within two months. It is noteworthy that this interpretation of the great Chancellor was itself ignored by the College in later days, and Perne's interpretation, though frequently challenged, was always acted upon.

Recommendations by Burleigh and others (which

come to light in the Broughton correspondence) of two persons for Fellowships call to mind Whitgift's letter to Burleigh of 28 March 1576 (Cooper's *Annals*, ii. 345), respecting corruption at elections. Whitgift says that it was common for a Fellow to resign his Fellowship in favour of some Court candidate—practically the candidate of some courtier—for a sum of money: and a mandate followed for the election. A formal complaint on this matter was made in 1579 by the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads. Burleigh's judicious reply is characteristic both of himself and of his royal mistress. He states that Her Majesty is much offended with "such ministers as had written her letters (*i.e.*, letters in her name) out of all good order," and with the principal secretaries who had passed them. She disclaims any right to interfere with perfect freedom of election: but if a person recommended be not taken, the reasons should be given to one of the secretaries. It may be doubted whether a Master of a College who desired a Bishopric would often act under such conditions with as much independence as Hawford. But it must be allowed that Eizabeth's interferences were slight when compared with those of the next century.

Signs of the effect of Sir Thomas Smith's very important Act of 1576, which required one-third of all rents to be paid in wheat or malt, begin to appear in 1580. I find the entry: "Received by the Master for grayne ['wheat' is written over 'grayne'] at Easter count 50^{s} 6^{d}." In 1581 there is one rent where malt appears, 8^{s} 6^{d}. In 1583-4 "the Fellows corn-money" appears for the first time among the *recepta forinseca*—£2 8^{s} 8^{d}. It rises to £12 18^{s} in 1589-90; but that was an exceptionally good year.

There is a story,* which I hope is true, told of Hawford, concerning the admission of John Holles in 1579, who

"was sent to Cambridge very young, being not 13 years of age [this, however, does not agree with the supposed date of his birth in the article of the *D. N. B.*], but so well fitted for the University that the Master of the College of which he was, posing him at his first coming both in Grammar and Greek, and receiving from him at those years unexpected satisfaction to every question, he caught him up in his arms and kissing him said to those who were by, 'This child if he lives will prove a singular Honour and ornament to this kingdom.'"

It is pleasant to think that such a scene could once take place. The prophecy was verified—unless Holles' later life was the cause of the prophecy. He served against the Armada and against the Turks in Hungary; he was Controller of the Household of Henry, Prince of Wales; paid £10,000 for the title of Baron Holles of Haughton, and £5,000 more for the Earldom of Clare. His second son, Denzil Holles, also of Christ's, the friend of Eliot and brother-in-law of Wentworth, played a still more important part in English history.

There is an amusing Order, the oldest now surviving, entered on the first page of the first College Register, or Lease-book, to the following effect:

"It is agreed betwixte the M^{r} and the fellowes that they shall every one of them have ij table napkins boughte by the Colledge of this condition that every fellowe at his departure shall deliver unto the Master ij whole table napkins for the use of his successoure, and this to be

* It appears in Collins's *Historical Collections*, p. 80, on the authority of Gervase Holles, the antiquary, a member of the same family.

observed from time to time. Also it is agreed that if either fellowe or pensioner [*i.e.*, fellow-commoner] do wipe his hande or finger of [off] the table clothe he shall pay for every time jd. to the use of the commons: whereunto the Master and fellowes have set to theyr handes the 24 daye of October 1575.

"Edward Hawford, Jhon Morton, Laurence Chaderton, Jhon Welche, Anthony Watson, Thomas Pattinson, Edmund Barwell, John Ireton, Hugh Broughton, Ambrose Barker, Thomas Todde, Christopher Bainbrigge, Alexander Spenser, Michael Gardiner."

All the signatures are autograph.

Following this order, on twelve pages of the book are miscellaneous entries of older date, all copied out at some time later than 1575. Among them is the order that the Catechist is to teach every holiday-eve from three to four in the chapel; all under M.A., except Fellows, are to attend to listen and to answer when questioned; the penalty for an "adultus" is 2^{d}, for a "puer" a whipping. No one is to be admitted to Communion who is not certified by the Catechist; anyone found unfit after half a year may be expelled at the discretion of the Master, Catechist and either Dean; fines to be divided equally between the poor and the Catechist.

Edmund Barwell, who succeeded Hawford on 23 February $158\frac{1}{2}$, was Senior Fellow at the time: the second being John Ireton, shortly afterwards Rector of Kegworth, a believer in possession by devils and the casting of them out by prayer; the third was Anthony Watson, who was in his year of grace, being already Rector of Cheam; the rest were chiefly men of less than the average mark. The Society applied to Sir Walter Mildmay desiring his favour in the choice of a Master,

"to keep them from a bad and help them to a good one." It is hardly likely that they were afraid of Watson, who would have been a very suitable Master; possibly they dreaded a mandate from outside, or they may simply have been tired of Hawford's energetic rule, and desired some one who would leave them to themselves: and they found such a man in Barwell. It is not easy to understand Sir Walter's conduct at this juncture. Christ's was probably the most Puritan College in Cambridge, and Laurence Chaderton (who had ceased for four years to be a Fellow) would doubtless have been an acceptable Master, and as successful as he proved to be at Emmanuel. There is no doubt of Mildmay's affection for his own College, to which he had given, besides twenty-one valuable books,* £20 a year out of his manor of Farcett, for a Greek lecturer £4; a preacher £4, and six scholars £2 each, "of the poorest sort, so they be apt to learning." Possibly he may have hoped for Chaderton's election, and been disappointed at the preference given to Barwell; possibly he thought that a Puritan Society of a less schismatic type was desirable; and the statutes of Emmanuel contain nothing distinctive, except that "de mora sociorum" (for which see Mullinger, ii. 315). At all events, in the year following he purchased the vacant site of the Dominicans, and in January, 158$\frac{8}{4}$, he obtained the Royal license for a College, which rapidly sprang into the first rank. Barwell was indeed a Puritan,

* They include a Basel Aristotle of 1550 and an Aldine Plutarch, each with Mildmay's name written across the title-page, and the price of the Plutarch—10^s. "Plates, horns and nails" were laid in for securing the books; in 1565 is a charge for "plating" books. "Cheynes" are frequently purchased. Mr. Dering had 10^s for "origin now cheyned in our librarie."

but an easy-going one. He was a weak man, the prey of his relations; he was constantly lending money to brothers, sisters and cousins, as is seen in the rough copy of College accounts in which his private affairs often appear. He had been instituted to Sutton Bonington (see p. 38) in 1578, on the death of Thomas Thomson, whom the College had succeeded in presenting in 1554. But he "was ejected by one Savage, the Lord Berkeley his clerk, for the non-appearance of his attorney." If this was the cause, it is on a par with Barwell's usual ineffectiveness. Savage remained Rector till 1620, when there was again (and for the last time) a fruitless contest. In 1584 Barwell was appointed to Toft, which was commonly an appanage of the Mastership; he held it till his death, and may have occasionally resided there, for I find a charge "to Upton, for making a seat for my wife in Toft Church." He was appointed Canon of Ely in 1582, but had no other preferment. He was never elected Vice-Chancellor, though his name appears frequently in the edicts of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads. In his government of the College he seems to have been weak rather than corrupt. Andrew Williat expressly calls him *vir probus*, and numbers him with the great preachers of Christ's;* but he suffered luxury to increase; Cudworth says that the rent of the manor at Caldecote is for the augmentation of Fellows' Commons, which implies that it was so regarded down to his time. But whereas the weekly allowance for commons had increased gradually under Hawford from the inadequate 1^{s} 6^{d} allowed by statute to 2^{s}, which was probably hardly sufficient, under Barwell the sum sprang up suddenly to 3^{s}. It is not surprising that there were

* In the interesting preface (1613) to his *Harmony of 1 Samuel.*

no longer savings for the purchase of new estates; but, on the other hand, I only once find an allowance of £78 7s 10d "for desperatt debts."

But if nothing was purchased, some interesting gifts were received. About 1600 Richard Bunting, of South Creak, tenant of the estate there, gave the moiety of the Rectory of Burnham Westgate in Norfolk, with the glebe lands and the moiety of all the tithes, etc. The rent (estimated at £25 a year) was to be distributed thus: £5 for a preacher, chosen annually, trained in "the famous Divinity of Cambridge"; £5 for coals "that in the time of winter and cold seasons the common Fire or Fires, in the common Hall or parlour, should be the better maintained for the common Use and Benefit of the Master, Fellows, and Scholars"; £15 to three scholars, to be like those of the foundation, with preference to North Creak, South Creak, Burnham Westgate, Norfolk in general; and lastly, any deserving poor scholar. Mrs. Bunting was apparently regarded by the College as an equal benefactor, for in 1598 she and Mr. Bunting received each two pair of gloves, costing 6s 6d, and six years later Mrs. Bunting had a pair which cost 5s. In 1598 Thomas Laughton, B.D., a Fellow, 1588-89, gave a charge of £3 6s 8d a year on a messuage at Thorpe Arnold in Leicestershire, on condition that the College should give to a student, not a scholar, 1s 3d weekly till he take the M.A. degree, on condition that he attend in the Library one hour each day, except during six weeks in the year, when he may be absent by leave of the Master. The Library was rigorously kept for the Master and Fellows only, a penalty of 2s being inflicted on any daring undergraduate who went into it; the work of the Librarian must

therefore have been always light: but he had an exceptionally fine position in the eighteenth century, when an order was made, 20 May 1715, that a new lock should be made for the Library, and that neither the Master nor any of the Fellows should have the key to it.*

Towards the end of the century, the Vice-Chancellor's Court had to do chiefly with schismatic (or otherwise disaffected) members of this College. Such were John Smith, who at St. Mary's Church attacked play-acting on Saturday and Sunday nights; Chris. Usher, reported as having derogated from the Queen's ecclesiastical authority; Sampson Sheffield, who disparaged the Heads of Colleges as men who put out lights (Puritanical) that used to shine in the town; Charles Chadwick, one of the first Fellows of Emmanuel, who charged non-resident incumbents (being Heads or Fellows) with murdering thousands of souls by their neglect: the evidence varied whether nine or twenty or thirty thousand souls were in this peril; John Rudd, for saying that nine-tenths of the ministry were dumb dogs, and also that the use of profane authors in sermons was unlawful. Most of these explained their statements or recanted.

But in January 158$\frac{8}{9}$ a case was heard which caused more general interest. Cuthbert Bainbrigg and Francis Johnson, both Fellows, were brought before the

* The payment to the College from Thorpe Arnold, like many other rent-charges, has remained the same till the present day. It was sufficient for its object when given: now it is wholly inadequate: and payment of it to a librarian ceased in the last century: in the first half of this century it was given to the library. Such small rent-charges are now given as exhibitions to poor students without any duty attached. On the other hand, rents such as that left by Richard Bunting have much increased in amount, and suffice for scholarships of a value adapted to modern needs.

Court for sermons preached at St. Mary's. Bainbrigg, like Sheffield, declared that some in authority were haters of the light; Johnson dealt with the imperfection of our Church government, the necessity of elders and the equality between such elders and ministers; the articles will be found in Strype's *Whitgift* (iii. p. 296). On being required to answer whether they had said such things, they declined to swear, and were committed to prison. This caused much excitement in the University, and the Chancellor, who at first said that they ought to lose their Fellowships, now wrote to the Vice-Chancellor Neville in their favour. The Heads explained that these men's conduct was part of a conspiracy to subvert authority. On June 12, after twenty weeks' imprisonment, the prisoners again had recourse to Burleigh; and it would seem that Bainbrigg was on some terms released, for he appears no more in the case. But Johnson was required to recant. In the following October he did so, but insufficiently, and he was expelled from the University. Refusing to leave Cambridge, he was thrown into prison in December. He appealed to Burleigh, and his appeal was backed by sixty-eight "schollers" of the University, including seven Fellows of Christ's: the College allowed his stipend till Lady-Day, 1590, when he ceases to appear on the list of Fellows, but as late as 1592-93 I find the entry: "Allowed Mr. Johnson for his commons during his imprisonment 30^{s}," *i.e.*, for ten weeks. He retired to Holland: his troubles there as leader of the sect of the Brownists, his quarrels with Ainsworth, with John Smith (also of Christ's) who seceded from the Amsterdam Church, with his brother George, also of Christ's, whom Francis finally excommunicated, and his migra-

tions in Holland down to his death in 1618, are beyond the scope of this work.

The year 1586-87 was memorable in the College for the visitation of John Copcot, Fellow of Trinity, Vice-Chancellor for the year, "an honest, stirring man," in Strype's judgment, but one whom we may suspect with Cooper (*Ath. Cant.* ii. 95) of being "somewhat disagreeable." His relations with the town were certainly not pleasant. The composition of the Society had been lately much altered. The Master had probably neither the will nor the inclination to moderate the tendency to nonconformity: and we may believe that there was also a lack of order and discipline, though the utter anarchy to which Copcot's minute Injunctions point is hardly credible. Copcot either had private information from some member of the College, or acted on common rumour; for soon after entering on his office, on December 12, he wrote to Burleigh, saying that, although visitation has been long omitted, it was

"of such necessity at this present that I was bold at the time appointed by the statutes of their Foundress to put it in practice: and thereby do find almost every statute given to them transgressed."

Accordingly he delivered to them twenty-one Injunctions, as completely and minutely drawn up as statutes.* It may reasonably be inferred that what he requires to be done had been of late in his opinion left undone, by the Master, the Deans, the Steward, the Prælector—in fact by every officer of the College. Communion in the Chapel is to be rightly celebrated;

* These are printed in Strype, *Annals*, iii. 439, Appendix No. 17: as also Copcot's letter to Burleigh.

the commonplaces (in which individual members of the College are not to be referred to) are to end at 6 a.m., so as to cause no delay in the exercises in the College Hall; Latin alone is to be spoken; the proper dress is to be worn in the town, "et hisce in rebus, ipse [Magister] aliis exemplo erit"; the Master is to assign rooms fairly, and to make no profit out of the rooms at the Lodge let to fellow-commoners; he is to hold audits and plate-audits properly; he is not to "ride" at the College expense, except by consent of the majority of the Fellows; he is not to keep College money in his hands, but to put it in the treasury; the Deans are not to "correct" pupils in the buttery, or in their rooms, but in the Hall; the monthly Steward is to be a Fellow, and he is to do his duty, and the Fellows are to pay their bills within six days after they are due; the Prælector is to lecture in term time and vacation time, and a "discipulus" may not moderate in the Hall. No woman is to be a bedmaker, "nisi quis graviter aegrotauerit." No pensioner is to be required to attend the Greek lecture unless it is certain that he is capable of getting good from it: this merciful clause comes as a surprise in so Draconic a list of ordinances. Commemorations of the Founder and Benefactors are to be held every quarter of a year. The Master and Fellows are no longer to divide among themselves the profits of the sale of timber or the fines on renewal of leases, or "quicquid commodi percipi possit a pistoribus et potificibus"; on this the case of Wray and wife throws light. The rise of the allowance for Fellows' commons is also mentioned. There can be no doubt that there was laxity in the College, but I imagine that Copcot was a martinet who desired to correct what he deemed

to be abuses throughout the University by striking at the College which was most vulnerable.*

The Visitation was prorogued from time to time during several months, but not (as Strype imagines) beyond Copcot's term of office. At last the Society rebelled, and declined to appear any more. Burleigh supported the Vice-Chancellor: but the Society answered firmly and well that they would dutifully yield to the lawful authority of the Visitor in reforming any breach of the Statutes; but "as for other Statutes which he termed by the name of Injunctions, they could not yield to them without the discredit of their House, the overthrow of their liberty, and the utter subversion of the state of their government." They maintained that Copcot aimed at taking the government from the College to the Vice-Chancellor; "for otherwise, if the reformation of errors only were sought, he would never have stood so much in this matter, seeing that might be done with the hundredth part of this great adoe"; and they concluded by saying that "it could not stand with the credit of government in their College to come in as their Visitor and go out as their Founder." Burleigh took the advice of Sir Walter Mildmay as one who was naturally interested in the College, and on his suggestion he referred the matter to a commission of some residents in the University, whose names I have not discovered, nor the terms of the settlement, which was reached in August 1587; but a letter was written by the Master

* The prevalence in the University of some of the irregularities mentioned above, and of some others, is attested by the letter sent by Sir Rob. Cecil (afterwards Earl of Salisbury), Chancellor, through his chaplain, Dr. Neile, in 1601. It contains fourteen "abuses" to be reformed (see Cooper, *Annals*, ii. 613). The College thought it wise to pacate Dr. Neile with a pair of gloves, cost 10s.

and ten Fellows to Burleigh expressing their gratitude for his "maximum æternumque beneficium"; they also speak gratefully of the Vice-Chancellor, who (although at first he resented the intervention) at length decided to let the matter drop in silence, and on the last day appointed by him did not appear at all—"ita visitatione defuncti sumus," they jubilantly say. The letter is signed by Barwell and ten Fellows.

While the visitation was going on, a special complaint was brought before Copcot against William Perkins (January 158$\frac{8}{7}$) for a sermon preached in the Chapel against kneeling at the receipt of the Sacrament and turning to the east. Four Fellows, including Bainbrigg, bore witness to the facts. He seems to have made some sort of retractation (Cooper, *Ath. Cant.* ii. 335). These scenes naturally left behind them soreness in the College, and even open discord followed. In 1590 Richard Clerke was accused of having struck George Downame (Reg., 91 (1), 7), and was punished by Barwell; the charge may have been untrue, as he ventured to appeal to the Vice-Chancellor, who heard the case with Goad and Tindall on June 3; nothing more is recorded. In October of the same year Clerke and Powell complain to Burleigh that they are passed over in elections because of their opinions. Either the situation became intolerable, or some friend to the College intervened; for on November 19 in the same year the Master and eleven Fellows sign the following curious document:

"We whose names are subscribed doe forgive and forgett all injuries past whatsoever and doe promise to deale Christianly and friendly hereafter one with another in wordes and actions. [Signed by] Edm. Barwell, Cuth.

Bainbrigg, Ri. Clerke, Will. Knight, Will. Perkins, Joh. Powell, Rob. Baines, Geo. Downame, Rand. Erdley, Rob. Snoden, Tho. Graye, Will. Bolton."

The two who did not sign were the Senior Fellow, Thomas Osborne—he was in residence in the course of the year 1590-91, for he was twice allowed his commons during illness—and Thomas Murton, "a melancholy man, but excellent commentator on the Corinthians," as described by Fuller. So far as I know, peace was kept afterwards, except for disputes at elections.

This list of Fellows contains the names of several men of mark. Clerke—"trium linguarum peritissimus"—is mentioned by Fuller in his *History of Cambridge*,* among the learned writers of the College, as "one of the translators of the Bible, and an eminent preacher of Canterbury." He was a Canon 1602-13, when he probably died. In 1634 there was received £100 and a piece of plate with £10 from a Dr. Ri. Clark: perhaps the same man—but the legacy seems to have been long delayed.

William Perkins was one of the most influential Puritans at Cambridge. He is recorded among the cases of remarkable conversion.

> [He was] "much devoted to drunkenness. As he was walking in the skirts of the town he heard a woman say to a child that was froward and peevish, 'Hold your tongue, or I will give you to drunken Perkins yonder.' Finding himself become a byword among the people, his conscience smote him," etc. (Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, ii. 29).

He became an earnest student of divinity. He was appointed lecturer at Great St. Andrew's, and remained

* Prickett-Wright, p. 184.

so till his death in 1602. Fuller's account of him as "the faithful minister" is well known :*

"An excellent chirurgeon at jointing of a broken soul and at stating of a doubtful conscience. . . . He would pronounce the word *damn* with such an emphasis as left a doleful echo in his auditors' ears a good while after. And when catechist of Christ's College, in expounding the commandments, applied them so home, able almost to make his hearers' hearts fall down, and hairs to stand upright. But in his older age he altered his voice and remitted much of his former rigidness."

His works (enumerated by Cooper) were forty in number; many were published after his death. Perhaps the best known is *The Reformed Catholike*, on points of agreement and divergence between the Anglican and Roman Churches. He died aged forty-four, amid universal regret. "All held Perkins for a prophet," says Fuller. He was buried at Great St. Andrew's at the expense of the College. I find in the Accounts, 1602-3, "spent about the funeral of Mr. Perkins £3 15^{s} 8^{d}."†

George Downame, son of William, Bishop of Chester, Fellow 1587-96, was chiefly known at Cambridge as one of the earliest teachers of "the new logic" of Ramus, first promulgated at Cambridge in 1584 by Temple, afterwards to be re-edited by William Ames and by John Milton.‡ He was Rector of St. Margaret's,

* It is quoted in *Ath. Cant.* ii. 336.

† Perkins's right hand was deformed; hence the epigram, improved in translation by Fuller:

"Tho' nature thee of thy right hand bereft,
Right well thou writest with the hand that's left."

‡ Mullinger, ii. 411.

Lothbury, from 1596 to 1602, when his brother John, also of Christ's, succeeded him; and from 1616 till his death in 1634, he was Bishop of Derry. A Puritan at Cambridge, "he became on conviction a firm Episcopalian, free, however, from bitterness towards those who differed from him."*

Robert Snoden, Fellow 1589-99, was Bishop of Carlisle 1616 till his death in 1621.

I will enumerate here some other noteworthy members of the College whose period of activity lay in Barwell's time. Andrew Williat (or Willet) was Fellow 1583-88, and was Prebendary of Ely, but attained no higher preferment. He was, as Fuller says, "one of admirable industry." Besides the *Synopsis Papismi*, he left Hexapla on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus and Daniel, a Harmony of the 1st and 2nd Book of Samuel, etc. Francis Dillingham, Fellow 1594-1601, was (like Clerke) one of the translators of the Bible. Paul Greaves, Fellow 1595-98, though of doubtful conduct (see p. 110), was the author of an English grammar, "ad unicam P. Rami methodum concinnata" (1594), which shows the influence of Downame. John Bernard, who published at Cambridge a translation of Terence into English verse, and was Vicar of Worksop in 1601, was silenced by the Archbishop of York, but afterwards forgiven. An excellent account of his numerous works has been published by Mr. J. I. Dredge. John Smith, the founder of the sect of the General Baptists, and called (from his practice) the Se-baptist, is probably the Fellow of 1594-98. His abode and his opinions changed frequently. He was

* J. I. Dredge, in a very valuable memoir, published in vol. i., No. 4 (April, 1881), of the *Palatine Notebook*. See also *D. N. B.*

preacher at Lincoln and Gainsborough, and at last in 1606 to a congregation of Separatists. Later (1608) he was at Amsterdam with Francis Johnson, but produced only further discussion among the Brownists; and according to one account Smith went to Leyden; but at the time of his death, 1612, he and his congregation were certainly established in Amsterdam. Thomas Taylor, Fellow 1599-1604, "a painful preacher and a profitable writer" (Fuller), worked successively at Watford, Reading, and St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, till he died, 1632, aged fifty-five, at Isleworth. He was Hebrew Lecturer in the College 1601-4 (succeeding Dillingham, who succeeded Clerke—a good succession). He was silenced by Dr. Harsnet (Vice - Chancellor 1606-7), and threatened with loss of degrees for a sermon at St. Mary's in which he attacked Bancroft. His eulogy will be found in the Life contained in his *Works* (1663). Paul Baynes (Fellow 1600-4) succeeded Perkins as Lecturer at St. Andrew's. He was more than once convened for nonconformity, and was at least once silenced; but he seems to have preached till his death at Cambridge in 1617. Brook (*Lives*, ii. 263) tells the story that when summoned before the Council he made so admirable a speech in his defence that before he had done one of the Lords stood up and said, "He speaks more like an angel than a man, and I dare not stay here to have a hand in any sentence against him." Upon this he was dismissed and heard no more of it. Two notable men, father and son, were Richard Rogers, M.A. 1574, for forty-six years Minister of Withersfield, Essex, author of a Commentary of the Book of Judges, 1615; and Daniel Rogers, Fellow 1600-8, "one of vast parts" (Fuller), Minister of Haversham, Lecturer at Withers-

field, and suspended by Laud, but restored; he died at Withersfield 1652, aged eighty. He was author of *Naaman the Syrian, his Disease and Cure.* Another son of Richard, Ezechiel, was B.A. at Corpus, but M.A. with us. Having been silenced, he left for New England in 1638, where he died 1660, leaving his library to Harvard College. Another Richard Rogers, of Sutton Valence, and of a different type, was educated at Oxford, but was M.A. (1552) and B.D. (1562) at Christ's. He became Bishop Suffragan of Dover 1568, and Dean of Canterbury 1584, where he died in 1597. Arthur Dent, M.A. 1579, Rector of South Shoobury, Essex (1580-1607), was "sundry times troubled for omitting the cross and surplice." A full list of his works (including *The Ruine of Rome*) is given in David's *Essex.* John Downame, brother of George, M.A. 1596, author of *The Christian Warfare*, passed most of his long life in London, and indeed survived into the Civil War, for in 1644 he was one of the ministers in London chosen to examine and ordain public preachers. John Warde, M.A. 1586, preacher successively at Haverhill, Bury and Writtle, lived amid much suspension. Cooper records the saying of Whitaker, "Give me John Ward for a text," and he doubtless made the most of it; "nullus tonuit fortius," says his epitaph. Arthur Hildersham, M.A. 1584, before which time he had been "sublector" in the College, great-grandson of George, Duke of Clarence, was passed over by Barwell's "vox negativa" when Williat was elected Fellow. Burleigh, probably moved thereto by the Earl of Huntingdon, procured his election at Trinity Hall. He was suspended by the High Commission for preaching without ordination,

but probably recanted 10 January 1588. The Earl gave him a lectureship at Ashby de la Zouch, and subsequently (1593) the vicarage: and there, after divers silencings and imprisonments, he ended his labours of forty-three years on 4 March 1631. And. Williat, somewhat oddly, calls him "schismaticorum malleus." He was one of those appointed on the accession of James I. to present the "millenary petition" for the reformation of ceremonies in the Church. His character, if not his judgment, seems to have commanded general respect. John Sterne, M.A. 1568, afterwards of Peterhouse, was the last Protestant Suffragan-Bishop of Colchester in 1592. He was suspended in 1603, but restored in 1606. Francis Marberie or Merbury, who was entered in 1571, is probably the minister at Northampton whose examination before the High Commission is given at great length by Brook (*Lives*, i., 224-28). John Handson, B.A. 1564, is doubtless the curate of Bury St. Edmunds who was suspended for nonconformity by Bishop Freke in 1581, in whose behalf Burleigh and Lord North seem to have sued to the Bishop in vain (*ibid.*, 238). Others were Robert Wright, Chaplain to Lord Rich, who was suspended by Bishop Aylmer, about 1582, for preaching without license; later he seems to have conformed:* John Huckle, minister of Aythorpe Roding, who was charged with disputing against the Athanasian Creed; he also was supported against Aylmer by Burleigh and others of the Council, but without effect: and Eusebius Paget, who, while Rector of Lamport (1572), was suspended by Bishop Scambler of Peterborough, and afterwards, when Vicar of Kilkhampton, Cornwall (1580-84), was

* Strype, *Ann.* iii. App. Nos. 23 and 24: David's *Essex*, 70.

remitted to London, and suspended for not being willing to use every part of the Book of Common Prayer; he also seems to have adopted moderate views in later life, for he was Rector of St. Anne and St. Agnes, Aldersgate, 1604, till his death in 1611. It is not necessary to agree with Brook in his invectives against the tyranny of prelates in order to feel sympathy with these Puritan ministers. They firmly repudiated the charge of "schism," and were as a rule no frequenters of separate assemblies. On the other hand, the Bishops were endeavouring to secure uniformity in specially trying times. Whitgift, as the abortive Lambeth articles prove, was willing to do all he could to conciliate the Puritans: and his impatience of men who differed from him little, if at all, in doctrine, but were stubborn on minor points, is perfectly intelligible.

There is a marked increase in Barwell's time of the charges for preaching, almost exclusively at Bourn and Fen Drayton—always 1^{s} a sermon, doubtless to pay horse hire. In 1583-84, thirty-three sermons were preached by different Fellows, and fifty in 1585-86. Later on the number dwindles, till in 1601-2 Mr. Taylor alone preaches two sermons "at the College benefices." The reason was that resident curates were found. In 1594-95 £10 was given towards a house at Fen Drayton; in 1595-96 £7 is spent on "reparations," and "Mr. Price, minister at Fen Drayton," has 40^{s} toward divers charges on College business. After this sermons are recorded at Bourn only. In 1603 Sir Currer appears as Vicar of Bourn, and he remained so till 1610. In the earlier years of the College sermons were preached occasionally at Croxton and at Helpston, but

each of these soon had its resident Vicar; the Vicar of Croxton received first £30, then £40, a year.

A contemporary record of much interest is the unpublished diary of Samuel Ward,* afterwards (1609-43) Master of Sidney Sussex College and Lady Margaret Professor. Born at Bishop's Middleham, Durham, he lived at least seven years at Christ's; in 1596 he was elected Fellow of Emmanuel College. The diary is fragmentary; it commences on 11 May 1595, when he was a bachelor of two years' standing, and breaks off at July 29. There are a few scattered entries up to July 1596, when he had just become M.A., and the diary is continuous till September 10. In 1597 it runs from July 30 to August 25, and there are a few entries in each year down to 1601.† It was intended to be, and is essentially, a record of his daily sins and omissions of duty, kept in a most simple and pious spirit—*e.g.*, "my negligence in not coming to prayers," "my little pity for the boy which was whipt in hall," "my ripping up Bancroft's jest to Mr. Newhouse," "my pride at being with Mr. Pott walking at Emmanuel College Close," "my proud thought because so many at the [Sturbridge] fayre asked my counsell in buying bookes;" together with sundry confessions of overeating of cheese, "which is very hurtfull for my body att 3 o'clock," and of cherries, plums, "damsels," and pears (for which he had an incurable weakness) "both before and after supper," *i.e.*, five o'clock.

But amid these venial sins, which it is hard to read

* This belongs to the library of Sidney Sussex College: I have been kindly permitted to extract from it.

† Other entries (mostly of a later date) are chiefly heads of discourses, or private meditations.

with the seriousness of the writer, we get a few glimpses of the life of the day. We see Ward regularly at morning chapel, but once in bed at eight o'clock (an hour which was equivalent to eleven in these degenerate days), whereby he was very "scandalous" to his chamber-fellows. We see him making "analysis of chapters" and "repetition of sermons" (or, rather, omitting these, the record being negative); present ("with immoderate laughter") at acts in Hall at nine o'clock; going "in my pride to the priorums"; hearing (unfruitfully) the *conciones ad clerum;* frequenting the booksellers' shops; misspending his money when he went down the river to Chysterton; "coming down Gogmagog"; going out into the fields with Mr. Downame to gather herbs, probably for medicinal purposes, not scientific, on which his mind runs even during the "common-place" in the chapel. He studies "philosophy," which is the occasion of "pride," in Mr. Wood's chamber, or "at Mr. Newhouse's fire": Newhouse is the Fellow, about three years his senior, whose name occurs most frequently in the diary: Ward attends his catechizing, but never speaks of him or anyone as his tutor. He is proud of his "chronology," also "when he looks at the mappe at Caius Colledge"; and he has a "globe" which is a cause to him of much stumbling; he is angry at Bainbrigg (Chris.) and Wood for "deteyning" it; also Bainbrigg denied that he had lost the brasen ring of the globe, and "ubrayded" Ward "with ij^{d}"; and he is "vehemently" angry with one who took "the axell-tree" out of it. From these severer studies he recreated himself, when he could get permission, in the orchard (*i.e.*, the Fellows' Garden) at bowls after supper: witness the following entries: "my anger with Mr. Newhouse for that he

would come and go with us into the orchard"; "my pride in walking in the middest of the orchard when S. John's men were there"; "my over-myrth att bowling after supper . . . how I had almost hurt Mr. Pott" (one of the Fellows).

His subsequent career proves that he was a man of considerable attainments: and he lived on friendly terms with many of the Fellows, chiefly those of the Puritan side. He is disturbed when one of the Society reprehends Mr. Newhouse about the surplice. His rare "punishments" are inflicted by men of the opposite party, Richard Clerke and Snoden. His chief reverence was for Laurence Chaderton (then Master of Emmanuel), whose sermons—I suppose at St. Clements—he attended; and especially for William Perkins, the great Lecturer at St. Andrews, who ceased to be a Fellow at Christ's* in the first year of Ward's diary, Michaelmas 1595. Ward's comments on the approaching vacancy show the influence which Perkins had in the College. He chides himself characteristically (July 12) for his overgreat mirth, notwithstanding that he ought to have been sorry "for the immense danger which was to befall our Colledg"; with which he combines the unseasonable weather which was like to cause a dearth. On July 26 he writes, "We are justly punished in our Colledge because in the time of our prosperity we bragged too much of our good estate and also abused it"; and he prays that "after Mr. Pirkins departure there follow no ruyne to the Colledg, seeing that some of the Fellows begin to use such pollicy without any care of the future good of the Colledg." I do not know whether he refers

* By reason of his marriage, Cooper says (*A. C.*, ii. 335): but he gives the date five years too soon.

to Snoden, Clerke, and their party, which was never large; possibly to William Bolton, a Fellow of the day. Ward confesses to "ill talk" of him after supper, and on September 16 to his "fear to displease Mr. Bolton notwithstanding his wicked practices."* But perhaps Mr. Bolton was not very wicked, for he helped Ward with money when he much needed it.

Ward had no hope of a Fellowship at Christ's, for his county was full: the Durham Fellowship was held for the extraordinary period of twenty-nine years by Cuthbert Bainbrigg: yet he is clearly desirous of being on good terms with all the Fellows. His conscience smites him for "too much obsequiency and flattery of Mr. Greaves, now being Fellow"; but Paul Greaves was ejected from his Fellowship in 1598. And even in 1596 Ward chides himself both for his overmuch desire of acquaintance with Mr. Greaves, and for his "hipocrisy" in that he would not be seen standing with Mr. Greaves at the gate, and for his "rejoicing at Mr. Greaves his punishment."

In fact, he supported himself with extreme difficulty. We may glean from the diary curious hints of the straits to which even a B.A. who had been a pensioner might be reduced. Thus on 8 June 1595 he records "God's providence over me being putt out of commons on Whison eve [doubtless being in debt for his commons] in sending me the same day monney to gett me in agayne." On July 11, "I knew not how to pay for my supper, and after supper I had half a crowne given me." On 2 February 159$\frac{5}{6}$, he acknowledges God's providence "in sending me monney when I wanted monney

* This is the one hard word of any man which occurs in the diary.

to tak physick." On March 21, when he wanted money to pay the Manciple, he obtained favour in the sight of Mr. Montagu: and Mr. Bolton gave him money when he was sick. Even as late as 1600, on June 22, "Mr. Pirkins gave me a noble for reading to Nevynson when I could not tell whether to borrow monney for my gowne." He was Catechist in the College for a time, and seems to have assisted some of the Fellows—Bolton, who had many "puples," and John Smith. But his chief help came from James Montagu, who had been fellow-commoner at Christ's in 1587, and returned to Cambridge apparently in 1596 at the foundation of Sidney Sussex College, of which he became the first Master in 1598. His first appearance in the diary is (as recorded above) on 21 March 1596: and on August 9 Ward records his fear of behaving himself before Mr. Montagu, and his penitence for "abasing Mr. Clerk" to him: on September 2 "my proud thought with Mr. Montagu when he said we should go see the crocodile." On August 27 he is filled with "pride in thinking of the New Colledg, whereas it is not lickly that I should have any place there." Montagu's friendship, as well as that of Perkins, doubtless helped to get him the Fellowship at Emmanuel. When Montagu became Bishop of Bath and Wells, Ward was appointed his Chaplain, and it may be assumed that the same influence helped in his election to the Mastership of Sidney in 1609.

A few words should be given to the Roman Catholics educated here in Elizabeth's days. A few can be certainly identified; many more are probable. During their residence they of course conformed; as the majority throughout England did in the first decade of

the reign. Then came the bull of deposition, and the successive Acts under which the loyal Romanists were confounded with the small number of those who plotted in the interest of Mary. Proselytism became treason: saying or hearing Mass entailed severe punishment. After 1585 still stronger measures were taken. That the Jesuits and the priests of the English College of Rome were sometimes fomenters of treason is not to be doubted. But beside the Jesuits there were numbers of Romanist priests, English lads sent by their parents for education at the English College of Douai in Picardy, who were there ordained, and returned to England in most cases solely to administer to their fellow-countrymen the rites which they deemed necessary to their salvation. Here is part of the statute of 1585:

"All Jesuits, seminary priests [as of Douai, or of Rheims, to which the College migrated for fifteen years from Douai], and other priests ordained by authority of the See of Rome, shall depart out of her Majesty's dominions: and if any such priest, deacon, religious or ecclesiastical person come into or remain in the Queen's dominions he shall be adjudged a traitor and suffer accordingly."

The same penalty is extended to all who shall "receive, relieve or maintain" any such person. The short and quite unadorned records called the Douai Diaries tell the brief history of many such "seminary priests." They arrive at Douai from England: the date is given: they study there: they are ordained: soon afterwards they are "missi in Angliam." What that mission often meant appears from an entry such as the following: "Hoc fere tempore accepimus in crucem actos et pro more solito membratim dissectos tres ex sacerdotibus nostris."

One of these three was perhaps Laurence Johnson of Christ's College. Another, sent in 1586, was Ralph Crocket, martyred 1 October 1588 at Chichester.* No more ever appears in the Diaries. But the manner of their death we know. They were tortured to make them confess themselves priests: this rests on the testimony of the informers who hunted them down. They were hanged, drawn and quartered: that means that they were cut down before they were dead, they were then cut open, and their bowels were burned before their face. We may accept from the often exaggerated accounts of these martyrdoms contained in the Records of the Society of Jesus that the effect produced by the indubitable piety and courage of the sufferers was so great that the very hangmen sometimes allowed them, as though by mistake, to hang till they were dead before they cut them down.

Among the more notable Romanists connected with this College was Fra. Babington, B.A. $154\frac{8}{9}$ at Christ's, afterwards Fellow of St. John's, and Master of Balliol and Rector of Lincoln at Oxford, who fled the country in 1565, and died abroad four years afterwards. Ri. Hall, B.A. $155\frac{5}{8}$, also of Pembroke and of Caius, Lecturer at Douai, and afterwards Canon of Cambrai, wrote the life of John Fisher, and died at Douai in 1603-4. Robert Turner matriculated 1567, but took no degree; in 1573 he was ordained at Douai, where he became D.D. in 1586: he was Rector of the University of Ingolstadt in Bavaria, and died at Gratz in 1599. Ri. Holtbie, like Hall, was a member of Caius as well

* It is doubtful whether John White, adm. Christ's 1571, and martyred in 1584 at Wrexham, was at Douai (see Cooper, *Ath. Cant.* i. 494), though one of that name was ordained there in 1581.

as of Christ's, and B.A. at Oxford in 157$\frac{5}{6}$, the "little man with a reddish beard, aged forty-three," as described by his would-be captors, a Jesuit priest, and after 1606 Superior of the Order in England; he lived and worked in Yorkshire to a great age, and died quietly in 1640. Laurence Anderton, B.A. 159$\frac{6}{7}$, another Jesuit, was equally fortunate in eluding his persecutors: he was Superior of the Lancashire district in 1621, and was in London 1624-41; he died, aged sixty-seven, in Lancashire in 1643.

The following members of families of some note, students at Christ's, are, I believe, the same as residents of the same name at Douai—or rather at Rheims: Anthony Medcalf, of Allerton, Yorks, matriculated 1575, returned from Paris to Rheims 1588 (*Dou. Di.*, 220); Cuthbert Johnson of Durham, of the same year, ordained at Rheims 1583; Ri. Tankard (Tancred) of Arden, Yorks, matriculated 1579, admitted Rheims 1582; Will. Middleton, probably of Belshay, Northumberland, B.A. 1583, arrived at Rheims from England September, 1583; Bernard Patenson of Durham, B.A. 1580, ordained 1585 at Rheims; Ant. Rouse of Dennington, Suffolk, matriculated 1581, and of the Inner Temple 1583, ordained at Rheims 1592; Ralph Shirley, B.A. 1579, "nobilis et B.A. Cantabrigiensis," arrived at Rheims 1580. A good many others, found in the Douai lists, cannot be identified with any certainty.

Dr. Hawford's death reopened the question always at issue with the Berkeley family. He died Rector of Kegworth, which he held for twenty-one years. On 3 March 158$\frac{1}{2}$ the College nominated as its two "sufficient clerks" John Ireton and Martin Keye. On March 7 a copy of the nomination "was delivered and

sett upon the Hawle dore of the Right honorable Sir Henrie Barkleye at his howse at Calladon nere Coventrie." Sir Henry required that the nominees should wait on him in person. The College contested the point with much excitement. The Master and Mr. Ireton "rode" to the Bishop of Lincoln. Mr. Anger, the College lawyer, "took paynes" with Sir Walter Mildmay. In the Mich. term there were proceedings at the Hertford Assize; Mr. Acroyd and Mr. Bromley "searched" at Lincoln, and refreshed themselves with "a brest of mutton when we came home." "A pyck and eeles" were sent to Mr. Justice Ayloffe (or Aleph, as by a learned misspelling he generally appears in the College records). But, in spite of the pike, Sir Tho. Gawdy and Justice Ayloffe decided that the College must send the two clerks personally, that Sir Henry may "make a better appoyntment." Mr. Ireton found favour in his eyes, and held Kegworth till his death in 1606, when the Master rode to Coventry to Lord Berkeley, the more imperious method of 1582 not being followed.

At our great estate of Diseworth there was no peace from 1588. Searches and suits go on for eleven years. In reality, the dispute seems to have been between the chief tenant and his under-tenants. The chief tenant was John Hawford, brother of the late Master. Cudworth says in his MS. book that "Hawford while he was tenent persuaded all the tenents in copyhold, between 40 and 50 in number, to turn their copyholds into leaseholds of 21 years, which they have held ever since, still renewing of the grand tenent as often as he renews of the College." This was an arrangement convenient for the "grand tenent,"

who thus had money in hand when his own fines on renewal came. It also enabled him to override the rights which the undertenants claimed under their ancient tenure of renewing at the same rent and for a certain fine. In 1604, when Gervase Pigott succeeded John Hawford, the tenants were in deep disquiet. They complain that arbitrary fines are being levied on them, and humbly request to have "a true copie of the acts deeds and statute of the benefactors founders and welwillers" of the College, that they may know more clearly their "sutes services and dueties." In a second petition they remind the Society that the Foundress left them the manor of Diseworth "not only to further yoore exhibicion in your godlie studies, but also that thereby you might charitablie and kindelie deale with the tennants of those lands and their succession, followinge that godlie and charitable course that shee extended towards you."

They proceed to make their "humble mone and relacion" how that Gervase Pigott is most forward with them "to take newe graunts of our poore tenements and states demaundinge of us such fynes and Incombes for the same, which, if we should or could condiscend to give unto him, would be the utter undoing and impoverishinge of us our wives and children, and the rootinge out of all our families." They therefore again ask to know the ordinances of the Lady Margaret "for the usinge and setting of the said lande," and for a copy of the lease to John Hawford, now claimed by Pigott. As this second petition proved fruitless, "the inhabitants of Dyseworth" boldly approach the Queen. They again make their point that the manor exists not merely for the good of the College, but "that the

occupiers of these lands shold be hable to mayntayne their severall families and to pay and performe their Rents and services due for the same." Accordingly, they request that the Queen will enjoin the College to show them the statutes, etc., which set forth the intent of the Foundress. The Queen clearly held the argument so far good that the petition was sent down to the College, for it lies with the others in the Diseworth drawer in the Muniment Room. There is, however, nothing to show the immediate result; but in 1640 the tenants surrendered their leases into the hands of Pigott and of Robert Lilley, who took over Pigott's lease, and bears (I regret to say) the same name as one of the original petitioners. The question came up again in 1728.

There was a very curious suit in the Vice-Chancellor's Court in 1590-95, and again in 1601, of which large fragmentary records are preserved in the Registry-books (*Misc.* 6 (2) and 7). It was between Wray and Wray— the widow of a former manciple named Hill, and her second husband Wray — on the one side, and two Fellows, Powell and Eardley, on the other. The real question at issue was the position of the manciple: was he an independent tradesman, or a mere servant of the College, and, if so, the agent of the Steward? I have no room to give the case in detail, though it is interesting. The two Fellows refused to pay the bills alleged to be due for themselves and their pupils to Wray and Wray, who, they said, were not principals; but they were ready to satisfy the College. The statutes were on Powell's side, and the College seems for a time, at least, to have maintained the case; usage and the Master were on the other. The matter had

really been stirred up by an injunction of Copcot to the stewards to do their duty. But usage proved incontestably that for years the statute had been otherwise interpreted by Hawford as well as by Barwell; that the manciple had been responsible to no one except the Master. To this Dr. Still and Dr. Tyndall were called as evidence by Wray and Wray and it is clear that the manciple was always much wealthier than the College, and that the Fellows had been constantly in his debt both at Cambridge and afterwards. I discovered incidentally that the Master had married the widow of a still earlier manciple, Tho. Taylor.

In 1596-97 the College proved its rights over Hangman's Lane (now Christ's Lane) by the purchase of a chain. Two years later there occurs "a lock for the lane towards Raper's," perhaps the shop at the corner of St. Andrew's Street. It required a labourer for ten days and a cart for six to make the lane clean.

The repairs at Malton in Barwell's last years indicate large and handsome buildings. There was a "long gallery," which required twenty-four days' work in the mending; and a stonemason was engaged for 23 days on the chapel there. But the references to migration are very scanty. There was one in 1563. In 1571 great preparations were made. Locks and bolts were ordered profusely: the "claier"* was called in: "300 of borde" was bought at Royston for beds, and a carpenter took five days to make them. Mr. Sterne's servants fetched "the College stuff from Cambridge." In 1577-78 there is a charge of 4^{s} 4^{d} to "Wilson for kepynge the gate 6 weeks in the time of the plauge," which seems to have caused a dissolution

* *I.e.*, the plasterer: not in Murray's *Dictionary!*

of the University from 2 November 1577 to March 1578. The only other migration was in 1593-94.

A charge for the rearing and keeping of swans recommences in 1594-95, when Mr. Collet of Bourn gave the College six "signets," and a "swaner" received 5^{s} for bringing a swan-mark and marking them. The cost of "uping" the swans and of their "winter-meat" occurs regularly for several years. About the same time the Fellows' Orchard was infested with "moules"; as many as fifteen are taken in some years at 3^{d} a head.

In 1603-4 is the entry: "given not as of dutie but as rewarde to the men that clensed the Kinge's ditche 3^{s} 4^{d}." It was important to the College that this watercourse (where Hobson Street now is) should be kept clean, but they seem to have declined responsibility in the matter. In later years the charge recurs, without the protest.

In 1608-9 occurs the charge for the 300 mulberry-trees (18^{s} 10^{d}) which the College bought to please James I. The suggestion that the object of wider interest than anything else in Christ's—"Milton's Mulberry-tree"—is probably the last of that purchase, is the one crime among a thousand virtues of the present Registrary of the University. They were "set" in the very year in which Milton was born by Troilus Atkinson, who occurs in the accounts for an extraordinary length of time as the factotum of the College. As has already been mentioned, he gave his name to the house, adjoining St. Andrew's Churchyard, of which he had charge.

There are records of two portraits of the Lady Margaret given to the College—one by Dean Goodman, "thimage of the Foundress"; the other came

in 1602, "thro' Mr. Montagu's man," carriage paid. The curtain and rings cost 12^{s} 4^{d}.

In Barwell's rough account-book there occurs the following record of a charge peculiar to the times:

"Layd out for my horseman into Ireland 22 March 1595:

Imprimis, a horse	£4	
Item for the furniture of my horse ...	20^{s}	7^{d}
Item for appareling my man ...	33^{s}	7^{d}
Item for botes and spurres	6^{s}	2^{d}
Item for my gun and things belonging to it	27^{s}	0^{d}
Item for sword dager and girdele ...	10^{s}	0^{d}
Item for his souldier coat	30^{s}	6^{d}
Item for his souldier hate	6^{s}	7^{d}
Item for his curasse	20^{s}	0^{d}
Item money in his purse	26^{s}	0^{d}
Item conducion [*i.e.*, travelling] money	32^{s}	0^{d}
Item reparacion money	16^{s}	0^{d}
Item laid out by Howell for him ...	5^{s}	5^{d}
Item paid that he borrowed coming home	5^{s}	0^{d}
Item lent to my man by Mr. Wood ...	7^{s}	10^{d}
Item paid more in money to my Lord of C...ter (? Chichester) ...	£10."	

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

THE THIRD COURT

Plate IV

CHAPTER V

REACTION

Masters: Valentine Cary, 1609-22; Thomas Bainbridge, 1622-46

THE seventeenth century was a time of prosperity for the College. Until 1680, when the gradual decline began which reached its lowest depth in the middle of the next century, its numbers were exceptionally large. It contained so many men of rank and position in the country that about 1640 new buildings were needed for their reception: and probably half of its most distinguished worthies belong to this period. They are not confined to any one party in the State. But the Mastership of Valentine Cary marks the end of the somewhat schismatic Puritanism of the Elizabethan times. Ball, the biographer of Preston (who succeeded Chaderton as Master of "pure Emmanuel"), says that Cary "did all he could to mould anew and alter the constitution and genius of the College." It is true that he did something: it is possible that he would have done more; but the College contained in and after his time many men of the firm Puritan temper manifested in the Civil War, and again in 1662. In 1643, however, the resi-

dent members were mainly Royalists, though of a moderate type.

Cary (Carey or Carew, for the name has three spellings), was a Northumberland man, and connected with the Hunsdon family. He took his B.A. degree at Christ's, and shortly afterwards was elected to a Fellowship at St. John's; six years later he became a Fellow of Christ's; three years later he returned to St. John's. His election at Christ's had been somewhat scandalous, and it is possible that he was not comfortable as a Fellow there. He had promised one Bolton of Berwick, brother of Will. Bolton, the Fellow of Christ's, that if he would get him his brother's vote, he (Cary) would obtain for him or "his man" some "post of pay" from Lord Hunsdon, who was Governor of Berwick. It so happened that Will. Bolton did not vote for Cary, as the contest lay between two others, Rainbow and Chaiter;* and eventually on a lapse the Vice-Chancellor appointed Cary. But the secret came out, and Cary's election was challenged. Cary replied that he was not elected in consequence of his promise, but by the Vice-Chancellor; "therefore I am elect without all manner of corruption notwithstanding my promise." This was doubtless sound law, and Cary's election stood. We may hope or fear that he was not worse than his contemporaries—whose letters we do not possess. He had some influence at Court, and was made Prebendary of St. Paul's and of Lincoln, and eventually Dean of

* Chaiter's demerits, as described by Ri. Clerke and Snoden, are curious: he was a schismatic, for he came not in a surplice to Chapel, and took the communion not kneeling, but sitting—"ad morem schismaticorum sedendo, ac tum quidem cum M^r ipse ministraret." The last clause is probably a rap at Barwell, not an aggravation of Chaiter's wickedness.

St. Paul's; and when the Mastership was vacant in 1609 he was recommended by the Lord Chancellor to the Earl of Salisbury. The King had no hesitation as to making the appointment, but doubted whom he should appoint; he hesitated (to his credit) between Cary and Dr. Ri. Clerke (already mentioned): but on November 20 a letter was sent from Royston in favour of Cary (*Cal. Dom. Papers*, 1601-10, pp. 549, 561). Meantime the Society seems to have hastily elected Will. Pemberton (Fellow 1602-12), who was a *persona grata* at Court, having been employed during the past three years to represent the College in answering numerous Royal letters and to negotiate with the Earls of Salisbury and Lennox: the election rests on a statement of Sam. Ward,* who may well have known; and, indeed, Goad and Tyndall, writing to Salisbury, mention it as void; as it actually was.

The Society had altered considerably in the last years of Barwell's Mastership: and it is not likely that if they had been free they would have elected their greatest man. Will. Ames, the pupil of Perkins and inheritor of his method, the author of the *Medulla Theologorum* and the *De Conscientia*, had been a Fellow since 1602. He was doubtless regarded as ultra-Puritan, though it was not till the following Christmas that in a sermon at St. Mary's he openly attacked the license allowed in the Colleges at that season—the card-playing, dicing, and twelve days' saturnalia—and was in consequence suspended by the Vice-Chancellor. Apparently in the summer of 1610 he left Cambridge. A man of unbending conviction in all things great or small,

* Baker (ed. Mayor, i. 262) quotes it as occurring in Ward's MS. I have not found it either in the *Diary* or the *Adversaria*.

he objected to the use of the surplice. Mr. Mullinger (ii. 510) has recorded the comical argument of Cary to Ames, that the surplice was the armour of light enjoined by the Apostle. Ames remained unconvinced: and it is not surprising that Cary should have induced him to leave Cambridge; he certainly did not deal with him violently, as Ames's biographer, Nethenus, expressly admits. Ames went first to Colchester, then (probably through the hostility of the Bishop of London) to Leyden, whence he attended the Synod of Dort. In May 1622 he became Professor, and in 1626 Rector of Franeker, where, we are told, he attracted pupils from all parts of Europe. In 1633 he left Franeker (which did not suit his asthma) for Rotterdam; and in the same year he died. His family took his library to New England, and his son Will. graduated in 1645 at Harvard.

Other Fellows, in Cary's time and later—for the tenure of a Fellowship begins to lengthen considerably from this date—were Will. Chappell, the future Head of Trinity College, Dublin, and Bishop of Cork, and Nic. Eastwick, Minister of Warkworth—Puritans of the discreet and learned type. On the opposite side was Edw. Franklin, afterwards Rector of Great Cressingham, whose "sufferings" are recorded by Walker.* The College had to thank King James for Geo. Ramsay, a Scotchman sent by Royal mandate to fill a southern Fellowship. He is chiefly noteworthy as having an action brought against him by Anne Mathews for

* *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii. 245. The Parliamentarian soldiers surrounded his garden; and when he was endeavouring to escape over the palings, one of them wounded him in the groin, from which he died.

breach of promise of marriage; the defence (which described her as "the daughter of a poor pie-woman of Cambridge and of ill-carriage") was that Ramsay "being related to the Earl of Holderness [the Ramsay who saved James's life in the Gowrie conspiracy], and brother of Sir James Ramsay and David Ramsay, who are of the Privy Council of the King and Prince," was "an unsuitable match for the plaintiff." Ramsay left Cambridge in 1624, in debt beyond the average, for the Rectory of Wells, in Norfolk. Two others of very different character, Jos. Mead (Fellow 1614-38) and Mich. Honywood (1618 till the Civil War), were elected in Cary's Mastership, but their activity belongs rather to Bainbridge's time.

Two members of the College who were not Fellows were well-known men, of opposite sides in politics. Humphrey Henchman was B.A. 161$\frac{2}{3}$; three years later he became Fellow of Clare. Prebend of Salisbury till the Commonwealth, he was rewarded for his activity in the escape of Charles II. in 1651 by the Bishopric of Salisbury in 1660, and of London in 1663. He was a learned man, for, on the authority of Baxter, after the Savoy Conference, he showed "much insight in the fathers and councils." On the other side, Thomas Goodwin, B.A. 1616, afterwards Fellow of St. Catharine's, was the intruded President in 1650 of Magdalen College, Oxford; and he was present at the death-bed of Cromwell. Ejected in 1660 from Magdalen, he lived a life of study for twenty years in London, and five volumes of his works were published after his death. Many members of county families of good position appear—often in pairs—in Cary's time; for example, Jermys of Norfolk—Francis (adm. 1621) was after-

wards one of the Norfolk Commissioners in the Civil War; Hollands of Quiddenham—Sir John's history is the same as that of Fra. Jermy; Halfords of Wistoe, Leicestershire, a family noted for their loyalty—Andrew (also adm. 1621) had to buy his life from Cromwell for £30,000, having imprudently hanged a body of Parliamentarian prisoners; Gees of Bishop Burton, Yorkshire —several sons of Sir Will. Gee, Secretary of the King's Council for the North, connected by several marriages with the Hothams of Scarborough; two of the sons of Sir John Hotham, the Governor of Hull, beheaded 1644, Charles and Durant, were at Christ's some years later: Charles was afterwards Rector of Wigan, "a great philosopher and much addicted to chemistry"; lastly, Widdringtons without number from Northumberland.

It is clear from these few examples that the political opinions of the members of the College were not one-sided. Characteristics of the two parties—the seriousness of the Puritan and the loyalty of the Royalist—might seem to meet in Francis Quarles. He took his B.A. degree at Christ's in $160\frac{8}{9}$. Not long afterwards he went to Heidelberg as cup-bearer to the Electress Elizabeth, daughter of James I., together with John Dinely, one year his junior at Christ's, as secretary to the same mistress. It was after his return (about 1620) that he began to publish a succession of works—notably, the *Emblems* in verse and *Judgment and Mercy for Afflicted Souls* in prose—which deserve, perhaps, neither Pope's sneers nor the great popularity which they won at their appearance. One of his chief friends was a Sir Will. Luckin, of Waltham, who sent to Christ's in 1649 his son Jerram, afterwards "buried in Temple Church Tuesday night 9 December 1656." On Lady

Luckin's death he wrote an interesting elegy, and accompanied it with a letter to the widower, which is a fair specimen of his prose style. "She was yours," he writes, "and the terms whereon you parted with her was no ill bargain. Having a double *Interest* (and, in that, a treble blessing) for more than twelve years, could you expect less than to lose the *Principal?*" Sir William, I hope, understood the feeling which underruns the affectation of the style.

Quarles presented to the College the elaborate edition (1616) by James Montagu of the *Workes of the most High and Mighty Prince, James;* the binding is appropriately magnificent. On a blank page at the beginning is the following in Quarles's* own hand:

"Rex pater est patriæ, mihi clara Academia mater.

"Thus in the deare memoriall of my dutye
Into the tender boosom of my mother
I light my father up. O let hir beutye,
Mixt with his strength, each day beare me a brother:
And let the springtydes of their fresh delight
Make every minute as a mariag night.

"F. Q."

I find a curious episode in November 1615: Mr. Chappell and Mr. Mead (then almost the youngest Fellow) were punished by the Master for "skoffing at the Dean" in Hall. Apparently Cary's sentence was that the culprits should confess their guilt either in the Hall, or in the Master's Chamber, with something further, possibly suspension from Commons. Chappell

* A portrait, for many years in the Master's Lodge, and now placed by the present Master in the Combination-room, which used to be described (by patent error) as Milton, "may" (in the judgment of the late Mr. Scharf) "be Quarles."

appealed to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Gwynne, who with his assessors, Dr. Duport and Dr. Richardson, pronounced that "Mr. Chappell in regard that he refused to acknowledge the fault before the Master and Fellows in the said Master's Chamber for scoffing at the Dean of the College publicly in the Hall, therefore he the said Mr. Chappell justly deserved one admonition, and we pronounce his appeal in that respect to be voyd. [Probably therefore Chappell had to apologize in the Master's Chamber, but not publicly in the Hall.] And for Mr. Mead the said judges do ratify the first admonition given by the Master, and for the other two admonitions upon his appeals they disannul them both, and do only enjoyn him, the said 'Mr. Mayd,' to acknowledge his fault to the Master in his Chamber in the presence of two or three of the Senior Fellows, and that this shall be the final end of that business which may concern his appeals" [*sic*]. The story points to strained relations in the Society when so small a matter could cause so much excitement.

In 1614 Dr. Cary was made Dean of St. Paul's. He was undoubtedly a leading man at Cambridge. Baker (i. 198) says that he was one of "the three great men most in view" for the Mastership of St. John's in 1612: but he adds that none of the three were solicitors for the preferment, and so were easily supplanted by a man of more intrigue, Owen Gwynne. In the same year Cary was Vice-Chancellor, and as such had to preach the funeral sermon for Prince Henry; when "weeping himself, he made all the people weep again and again" (Cooper, *Annals*, iii. 55). In 1617 he accompanied the King to Edinburgh, where he gave offence by commending to God the soul of a dead man:

he was obliged to retract the prayer! Fuller calls him "a complete gentleman and excellent scholar"—qualities not inconsistent with a steady pursuit of his own advancement. He resigned the Mastership on 15 May 1622: and, I think, he resided to the last: the preceding Easter accounts are as usual in his own handwriting. He had been appointed to the Bishopric of Exeter in September 1621 under circumstances described by Mead (letter of 15 September).

"That which haste made me forget last time shall be the first I write at this. That Dr Cotton Bishop of Exeter is dead and that our Mr shall succeed him. The means was reported unto me as followeth. My Lord of Hunsdon who is much favoured by the Marquess had together with him been with the King at Windsor to kiss his hand, and found him at that present very pleasantly and graciously disposed. It happened that, as he was gone out from him, he met the first message of the Bishop's death arriving at Court: which opportunity and his Majesty's gracious temper at his departure from him moved him to return; and acquainting the Marquess therewith, they went both presently unto his Matie and obtained it for our Mr before others could hear of the vacancy. Some say that my Lord Keeper was by and put in his good word. On Tuesday, the day after I came from Dalham, our Mr went suddenly forth, being by post sent for to the Court at Windsor by my Lord of Hunsdon to give thanks to his Matie and those who had done so well for him." On 29 September Mead writes: "Our Mr is not yet at home: we look for him to-night. Dr Dun shall be Dean of Powles; but who shall be our Mr I know not, nor I care not." On 10 January 162½ he writes: "My Lord our Mr ministered the Communion on Christmas Day in his Rotchets and came into the Hall at dinner, and setting down in his chair, 'Well,'

said he, 'in good time be it spoken, I think I am the first Bishop that ever sat in this place.'* He with my Lord of Salisbury [John Davenant, President of Queen's] were invited to St. John's College, where after supper the two Bishops with Dr Richardson and Dr Gwin came down into the Hall and played at cards." On 13 April: "Our Mrs Sermon (saith mine author) was toward the necessity of confession to a priest, but certainly it was but convenience, and then no great hurt." On 18 May comes the statement of Cary's resignation. On 25 May: "To-morrow at 8 in the morning we choose a new Mr. We hear yet of no mandates, no nor competitors but Dr Bainbridge." Finally on 26 October: "My Lord (as I was told last night for a wonder) went secretly away that morning (I think) letting none of the Colledge know of it. I know not whether he desired not, or whether he suspected the Fellows would not accompany him out of the town, but it seems an argument of some discontent: there went nobody with him but his man that I hear of."

Dr. Cary did not hold his Bishopric long. He died in London 10 June 1626, and was buried in the south aisle of old St. Paul's: his tomb was destroyed at the Great Fire. A marble monument with an effigy was erected in Exeter Cathedral.† He gave the College the flagons for the Communion Table, besides other plate to the value of £50.

* Cary's memory could not reach back to Cuthbert Scot.

† He is said to have been popular at Exeter for his piety and liberality. On 6 March 162⅔, he got an order from the King to the Mayor, etc., of Exeter to allow him to make a door through the city wall into the fields that he might have more easy passage abroad for his health (*Cal. Dom. Papers*, 1619-23, p. 513). In 1624 he was presented to the Rectory of Exminster: he obtained it by a petition to the King that he may have the presentation thereto, as it is now held by laymen on pretence of impropriation.

Thomas Bainbridge (generally spelt Bainbrigg) succeeded Cary as 11th Master on 26 May 1622, as recorded by Mead. He came from Westmorland, as did many others of the same name, and some more from Yorkshire. I have got the idea of a slow methodical man, who did his work to the best of his ability. As Vice-Chancellor in 1627-28 he inquired into Dorislaus' lectures, which were reputed to be too republican (Parr's *Life of Usher*, p. 393). He preached first of a selected number at Court in Lent, and he received the King on a visit to Cambridge. He never had any preferment in the Church, though Cole (xx. 67) judges him "to have had sufficient obsequiousness to merit some future favour from the Court."

Gerard Wood, prælector in 1642, describes Edward Bainbridge (admitted in that year), as "dignissimi et vigilantissimi Custodis filius"; this would come under the Master's eye. But the numbers of the College were large during his twenty-four years of office: and there is evidence that he was a strict disciplinarian. As late as 1640 he required the Fellows to preach their "loci communes" in chapel regularly throughout vacation time. They appealed to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Cosin, who in a pithy judgment decided that they were not to be vexed. In 1634 I find from notes made by the Master on the page over against the "solutiones stipendiorum" that as much as 16^{s} was deducted in some cases from the quarterly stipend (which was only £1) for "not commonplacing." Mead and Edw. Kinge (alas for Lycidas!) were among the sufferers. In 1639 Mr. Norton was fined 6^{s} "for not replying his course." Theologically Bainbridge was colourless: "Bainbridge, and Love of Benet, the two learned Neutralls of

Cambridge that have been taking a nap and sleeping at our distractions."* From the report made to Laud in 1636 it may be inferred that the service in the Chapel was capable of improvement; though it was "much reformed of late." The Master was undisturbed in the troublous days of the East Anglian rising: and he died still Master in September 1646, when he must have been nearly seventy years of age. He left the College a legacy of £50, which, however, was not received till 1655, when Mrs. Bainbridge (who had been well provided for by leases of our manors at Bourn, Cottenham and Impington) had further to refund to the College no less than £190 2^{s} 1^{d}, being the overplus of the Fellows' corn-money which from 1629 to 1646 had been brought to account as paid by the Master twice in each year, though paid but once. The same error was made in Dr. Bolton's time, and at his death in 1654 Mrs. Bolton also had to account for £47 13^{s}. The College had to do with two widows. Mrs. Bainbridge lived till 1673.

Mead in his letters says that Bainbridge was "so addicted to his kindred that where they may have a benefitt, there is no persuasion, whosoever hath the injurie." This refers to the assignment of rooms in College, which rested solely with the Master, and (continues Mead) "the plott is first to gett the chambers which are convenient out of the possession of others (*i.e.*, tutors who have hitherto had them for pupils and counted on them at the next vacancy), and then to appropriate them to his kinsman-fellowes, so as to allure gentlemen to chuse their tuition as stored with rooms to

* *Mercurius Britannicus* of February 1644—an authority not above suspicion: see Searle, *Hist. of Queens'*, p. 492.

place them." Mead had been asked to take as pupil Sir John Isham's son (the future Sir Justinian) if he could provide a good chamber for him; and he got his rooms only by offering "an unreasonable bargaine, to yeild a chamber of 4 studies of the best, to be putt in actual possession of a chamber having but 2, and those also mine *de jure* by former assignation, but could not yet have the favour to enjoy them." Mead never speaks hardly of anyone except of Bainbridge and of Power, the Senior Fellow, whom he calls "a son of Beliall." I therefore accept his account here, though it may prove as much hesitation on Mead's part to ask a favour as on Bainbridge's to grant it.

Joseph Mead is the most interesting of the Fellows of Christ's at this period. He was "an acute logician, an accurate philosopher, a skilful mathematician, an excellent anatomist (being usually sent for when they had any anatomy at Caius College), a great philologer, a master of many languages, and a good proficient in the studies of history and chronology." Mead would probably have laid greatest stress on the merit which his biographer, Worthington, puts last; it is by the "Clavis Apocalyptica" that he is chiefly known. But it was probably less by any writing than by his wide tolerance that he influenced the better-known "Platonists" of the next generation. His Fellowship came to him late; the Master (Cary) thought he "inclined to Geneva"; and he was taken at last through fear of a mandamus to elect, perhaps, another Ramsay. That he and his successors were Puritan in the sense of being most hostile to Rome is certainly true; but they were absolutely liberal, as their name of "Latitudinarian" suggests; and Mead's noble words, "I cannot believe

that truth can be prejudiced by the discovery of truth," show a temper far in advance of his age. He refused all preferment. He would not leave Cambridge to be domestic chaplain to Bishop Andrewes, nor (though solicited in 162$\frac{6}{7}$ and again in 1630) to be Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. He lived and died in College, keenly observant but rarely taking part in University affairs, a recluse yet full of interest in the politics of the day. Each week he received a news-letter from London, which on each Saturday he sent on to his cousin, Sir Martin Stuteville, of Dalham Hall in Suffolk. Most fortunately the letters for ten years—from November 1620 to May 1631, just before Sir Martin's death by apoplexy at Bury—have been preserved, and have an imperishable charm by their revelation of a most pure, kindly and lovable character.* He used to write each Saturday morning before dinner, which was at eleven in those days; then his sizar—each Fellow had a sizar as his personal servant—used to take them to the shop of Geoffrey Finch in the Cury; and he (when he did not forget) gave them to Parker—who seems to have lived near Dalham, and brought in cheeses, etc., to the Cambridge market—unless Parker had left (as he sometimes did) too early. In that case they were sent by the "Bury carrier" to be left at Kentford; whence, if they had good luck, they reached Sir Martin.

Mead combined a thorough belief that "Popedom

* They are preserved in two folios, each of more than 500 pages, in the British Museum (MS. Harl. 389, 390). Many of them have been published for their historic value by Ellis, and more by Birch, *Life and Times of James I.* (2 vols.), and *of Charles I.* (2 vols.). Some which relate specially to Cambridge appear in Masson's *Life of Milton*. But much which is of interest to a student of College history is still unpublished.

is the Beast and Rome the whore of Babylon," with a clear sense of the danger which the Church of England incurred by rejecting valuable truth in the mistaken belief that it was "Romish." His letters to Dr. Twisse about bowing to the Altar are good examples of this; his distinction between reverence done to an image as idolatrous, but to the *locus* or *signum praesentiae* as natural and right, is interesting.* So also is the following passage, which has a well-known ring: "Take notice that all those bloody sacrifices of the Law were Federal Rites, or Epulae Foederales, as the Eucharist also is: namely, that they were oblations wherein the offerer (either by himself or his proxy the Priest) banqueted, or ate and drank, with his God, in token of covenant and reconcilement with him."† The following passage deserves quotation as typical of the man's character. He is answering a charge of being a practiser and inculcator of ways held Popish, *e.g.*, rising at the Gloria Patri, or bowing at the name of Jesus.

"I have urged no man at any time to use any of these Ceremonies, nor conformed myself to any of them, till I saw them prevail so generally as I should have been accounted singular. Our own Chappel is very regular, yet was not anything introduced by me, but others. I confess I had no scruple to follow them; besides, I took occasion by my Chappel-exercises to inform them of the nature and grounds of what they practised, lest for want thereof they might cherish some unsafe conceit. And notwithstanding I preached (as you say) for Bowing to Altars, yet I have not hitherto used it myself in our own Chappel, though I see some others do it. If I come into other

* *Works* (1677), p. 828. He quotes Perkins as holding the same view, to which I am not sure that Perkins would have agreed.

† *Ibid.*, p. 828.

Chappels where it is generally practised, I love not to be singular where I have no scruple."

It will become apparent when we treat of Henry More how potent in the direction of tolerance Mead's example in the College was: the subsequent anarchy impressed it more deeply on the Platonic school, and it is conspicuous in More: who, however, derived other things perhaps less commendable from Mead, "that incomparable interpreter of prophecies," owing to whose judgment and calmness, says More, "the study and inquiry into these matters which had even grown odious and infamous by the wild and ridiculous miscarriages of hot fanatick spirits, has in my apprehension gained much credit and repute by the orderly and coherent methods and unexceptionable ratiocinations of this grave and venerable Person."* He goes on to defend Mead's interpretation of the Book of the Revelation against the high authority of Grotius on the same subject.

Other Fellows of some interest at this time were:

1. Mich. Honywood, a strong Royalist, and a good friend to the College in days when it was pressed for money. At the outbreak of the Civil War his rectory of Kegworth, to which he was presented in 1640, was sequestered: he resided here (as President, though not senior Fellow) till 1642 at least. He seems to have lived abroad till 1660, when he returned to England, and was made Dean of Lincoln; where he died in 1681, aged eighty-five. Pepys' estimate of him (*Diary*, 29 June, and 6 August 1664) as "a good-natured but very weak man . . . yet a Dean, and a man in great esteem," throws perhaps as much light on the character

* *Mystery of Godliness* (ed. 1660), p. 172.

of that man of the world as it does on that of the Dean, and may be corrected by Walker's statement (*Sufferings*, ii. 269), which has a truer ring, that he was "a holy and humble man, and a living library for learning."

2. Rob. Gell (1623-39), chaplain to Bishop Sheldon, Rector of St. Mary, Aldermary, and a writer on a large scale. One of his works was an *Essay on the Amendment of the Bible* (1659), which shows no high opinion of the translators of the Received Version.

3. Edw. Kinge, son of Sir John Kinge, of Northallerton, was made Fellow by Royal mandate in 1630, as his predecessor, Sandelands, a Scotchman, had been; and the phrase of the mandate, "out of our princely care that these hopefull parts in him may receive cherishing and encouragement," is stereotyped in these documents. But his merits have been amply vindicated by the man who might more justly have been elected to his Fellowship, which was a southern one, his friend John Milton:

> "For Lycidas is dead, dead ere his prime,
> Young Lycidas, and hath not left his peer."

He was "Graecus Lector" in the College for one year, and contributed often to the sets of verses with which Cambridge used to greet births, deaths, marriages, and recoveries from illness.

4. Chris. Shute (1631-39), of Sandon, Herts, Prebendary of St. Paul's in 1660, also imposed by Royal mandate, this time to a northern Fellowship, to set the balance right which His Majesty had graciously disturbed by putting into a southern Fellowship Kinge, who was born in Ireland, but counted as a Yorkshireman. Shute's family contained a remarkable number of

men, all but one educated at Christ's, who were of some eminence. His father, Nathaniel, of St. Mildred's, Poultry, was "another Chrysostom for preaching" (Fuller); his grandfather, Christopher (of Pembroke), was a controversial writer of note; his great-uncle, Robert, was Recorder of Cambridge and a Justice of the Queen's Bench; and Robert's son was M.P. for St. Alban's and Recorder of London; his cousin (by several removes) Samuel served under Marlborough, and was Governor of Massachusetts. Lastly, his son Nathaniel became Fellow of Queen's and Canon of Salisbury.

The College was certainly divided into factions, which apparently were pretty evenly balanced. In a list of Fellows down to 1680, with some biographical notes, drawn up by Thos. Leigh,* scholar of the College and afterwards Fellow of Emmanuel, is the note, "W. Power, W. Chappel, and Jos. Mede were the greatest pupillists in the Coll. in their time. Power's pupills that were thought too loose, like their Tutor, were called Powritans; Chappel's, thought too precise, call'd Puritans; and Mede's that kept the medium between both, Medians." Power, indeed, had no pupils after 1622, when the admission books begin; but Siddall, who seems to have belonged to the same party, had a good many. In December 1622 Mead, writing to Sir Martin Stuteville, mentions two nephews of Sir Martin, John and Edmund Holland, who had been in residence for two years and were just going to the Middle Temple, and says: "I would that the danger of jealousies and such like emulous displeasing had not hindered me from

* His father, Thomas Leigh, the famous headmaster of Bishop Stortford School, was also a member; and his two brothers, Will. and James, were Fellows.

doing them that good while they were here which I would willingly have afforded them but durst not." Later, in 1627, Mead is moved much beyond his wont, by an attempt on the part of Power to ingratiate himself with Mead's own pupil, Justinian Isham, to whom Power wrote a letter which fell into Mead's hand, asking Isham that if he could not call on him (Power) by day for fear of the Pharisees, yet he would be a good Nicodemus and visit him at night. Power, who held his Fellowship from 1599 to 1646, though ejected for his "loyalty" in 1643, but "continued by connivance or re-election" (Walker, *Sufferings*, ii. 143), was a suspected Papist. Prof. Masson thinks that Power desired to proselytise, and regards the whole affair as an instance of "bad blood between these reverend seniors of Christ's College." Mead's unusual heat may perhaps be justified by graver cause; and he showed remarkable tact in dealing with the matter. Though his pupils might be distinguished from the too "precise" pupils of Chappell, yet his chief friends in the College were Chappell, Gell and Honywood. Outside he was in pleasant relations with Chadderton, Sam. Ward* and Bedell of Trinity College, Dublin. In one of the last letters, 2 April 1631, he writes: "The finest beginning of an Aprill that ever I saw. Yet Dr. Sancroft and Dr. Chadderton [then upwards of ninety] getting me to walk yesterday with them to Spittlehouse† end, and thence along to Balle's

* Ward writes to Usher, 16 May 1628: "Mr. Whalley and Mr. Mead are in good health, for which friends I am beholden to your Lordship, though you take Mr. Bedell from me [*i.e.*, to be Provost of T. C. D.]."

† The old hospital for lepers, which stood at or near the place where the almshouses of St. Anthony and St. Eligius now stand. "Ball's Folly" was probably a house beyond the hospital.

folly to see the new ditch and workmen to convey part of the Whitehill water to Emmanuel Colledge and so downe by ours, I gott a cold with being too hot. But it begins to concoct already."

We hear nothing in Mead's letters of one John Milton, though almost the whole of his seven years at Cambridge fall within the time during which Mead was writing. He rarely mentions any but his own pupils, many of whom were somehow connected with Sir Martin. Justinian Isham was Lady Stuteville's nephew; two Pagets, Justinian and Thomas, were her "cosens." One John Higham, son of a solicitor, came from Dalham at Sir Martin's recommendation; to which he did little credit, for he was idle, falsified his account —pupils wrote out their own accounts in their tutor's room from his ledger—and eventually left in disgrace and in Mead's debt; but he seems not to have been wholly bad, for four years later, having made a good match, and "being in the vagari [*sic*] which new married men are wont to take, he came hither to my chamber in his bravery, asked pardon for his long default, payd me my debt, would needs force a piece on me as a token of his love, then invited me to dinner, when he was so prodigall as if he had made a wedding feast." John Stuteville, Sir Martin's son, came up under Mead in April 1625, and Mead's account of the arrangements to be made for him is the *locus classicus* on the disposition of College rooms at that time. As a second-best arrangement, he says:

"I must dispose of your son in the new building [Rats' Hall] where I have a study voyd in one of the best chambers; but a M^{r} of Arts is the chamber-fellow and makes it thereby inconvenient for my use. The

new building hath but two studies in Chamber and two beds. I have no way but to get one of my Bachelors who keeps in the same building to keep with the Mr of Arts, and let yours have the use of his study, although it be not in so good a chamber. For bedding we shall make shift perhaps for a week till we know better what is needfull. If he keeps in the new building he must have a whole bedding because he lyes alone; if in another chamber, where he hath a bed-fellow, they must make a bed between them, and his part will be more or lesse according as his bed-fellow is furnished."

John Stuteville was not more diligent than was usual for a young man of family who came to spend the customary two years at Cambridge before going to one of the Inns of Court. "We are not yet settled to our studyes," writes the tutor on 30 April: "we will begin them next week." "My pupill is well, and gives me yet good content"—that "yet" is suspicious. "My pupill hath lost his Bill of Expenses, but he shall find the paines to renew it against Saturday." Mead nursed him through sundry fits of the ague, and not unfrequently suffered the same himself; it haunted Cambridge then and at later times: one attack is curious:

"He hath a double tertian, and is every day spoken with though at divers hours. His second ague came first on Saturday about 6 o'clock or after, which was his well day, and his old ague the next day at his usuall time, 2 a clock in the afternoone; as yet for dayes they both continue. The new one was at first the longest fitt; but now it is abated and falls under the other. But I think they will at last meet for the old comes later every day and the new prevents as much."

Mead's wealthier pupils, at least, seem to have got away from Cambridge at Christmas and Easter, and about July 15 for the Long Vacation. Horses were sent for them from their homes, and did not always arrive when expected. Mead himself resided much longer, being often detained to preach his common-places when his pupils were gone. But every year he spent about a month at Dalham, generally in August or September, sometimes also at Christmas. Occasionally he visited his cousin, Sir John Mead of Lofts, Essex, but only for a few days. More rarely he went to Dunston, near Lincoln, as the guest of Sir Hamond Whichcote, who had three sons at Christ's, where one of them died in January 162⅔. On all these occasions a horse is sent for him, and the servant who brings it carries his luggage on another. In 1623, April 7-12, he pays a visit to London—the only one recorded—"for recreation." In July and August of the same year he goes a longer journey on horseback — to Stamford, Lincoln, Newark, Derby, Buxton, where he drank of St. Anne's well, and the Peak, where he climbed "Mam-torre." In Castleton cavern he found many poor people had erected booths and lived there. Thence he went "climbing over mightie hills" in 7 hours to Makesfield (Macclesfield); thence to friends in Cheshire, Mr. Morton of Morton, and Sir John Brierton of Brierton: and homewards through Staffordshire, by Repton in Derbyshire (probably to visit John Lightfoot, whom he must have known at Christ's, then a Master there), by Leicester and Harborough, and reached Cambridge after being away twenty-two days, and only eight of them out of the saddle, so that he was very faint and weary and desirous to "refresh myself at Dalham on

munday if you will send H. Law with a horse." In 1627 on July 26 he took another tour: to Dunston, where he stayed four days, Barton on Humber, Hull, Beverley, York (three days), Doncaster, Grantham, Oakham, Langport (the home of Sir John Isham, his pupil's father), "where I stayed 3 days and but that I ran away betimes in the morning was in danger to have stayed 3 weekes: Sir John gott up in his shirt, but in vaine." Hence he came by Thrapston to Cambridge, and again to Dalham, whence he returns in the second week of September. It is plain that the absence of Fellows might now much exceed the old allowance, for Mead often hints that he could expect no exceptional indulgence.

Several of the letters are occupied by accounts of the visitations of the plague. No reference is made to Malton, from which it seems probable that it was no longer used as a sanatorium. In 1625 he writes on September 4:

"I desire to be in Dalham on munday come s'ennight. I cannot sooner. I have performed twice [*i.e.*, preached] and must again to-morrow s'ennight. But I think I shall be forced to you by want of victuall. All our market to-day could not supply us commons for night. I am Steward and am faine to appoint Egges, Apple-pyes and custards for want of other fare. They will suffer nothing to come from Ely. Eeles are absolutely forbidden to be brought to our market: so are Rootes [vegetables]. You see what 'tis to have a Physician among the Heads [Dr. Gostlin of Caius]. We cannot have leave scarce to take the aire. We have but one M^{r} of Arts in our Colledg, and this week he was punisht 10^{s} for giving the porter's boy a box on the ears because he would not let him out at the gates."

In 1630 matters were worse. The University broke up in April or May, and hardly reassembled in November. On April 24 Mead writes that he would gladly come to Dalham, but was detained (as usual) by commonplaces for the two following Sundays. On May 5 he made his escape and stayed at Dalham till October,* when he sends a most graceful letter of thanks. His description of the state of the College has been printed elsewhere, but still should be recorded:

"In our Colledg of 27 Messe [*i.e.*, divisions for dining] we have but 5. Our gates strictly kept, none but Fellowes allowed to go forth or any to be lett in without the consent of the major part of our Society, of which we have but 7 at home at this instant. Onely a sizar may go with his Tutor's ticket upon an errand. Our Butcher Baker and Chandler bring their provisions to the Colledg gates where the Steward and Coke receive them. We have taken all our officers we need into the Colledg and none must stirre out. If he doth, he is to come in no more. Yea, we have taken three women into our Colledg and appointed them a chamber to lye in together: two are Bedmakers one a Landresse. I hope the next Parliament will include us in the general pardon. We have turned out our Porter and appointed our Barber both Porter and Barber, allowing him a chamber next the gates."

* There was an Order of Council early in June forbidding the return to Cambridge of persons who had left it. On June 19 the V. C. and the Mayor joined in protesting against this, and against interference with people coming to sell at the market. The Order was modified June 25 (*Cal. Dom. Pap.*, 1629-31, pp. 286, 289). On the same day a brief was issued for the relief of the poor at Cambridge suffering grievously from the plague (*Ibid.*). On July 29 the above restrictions are partly reimposed. Markets may be held only in the open air thrice a week; those who have removed out of Cambridge may not return unless to abide there, and no more may leave (*Ibid.*, p. 315).

The College accounts of this time contain little reference to these attacks of the plague. In 1637-38 I find "contribution to the sick £4"; and in the "expensa pauperum" occurs "to the visited" £2 13s 4d. In May 1646 there was a slight outbreak. Sancroft, at Emmanuel, writes that he hopes the worst is past: "the University is not dissolved: no College stirs but Christ's, in whose vicinage the infection is: we are the next to them, but as yet our lads budge not, being more courageous than ever I knew them in the like danger."

John Milton was admitted at Christ's—the greatest man who ever lived within its walls—on 12 February $162\frac{4}{5}$, under Will. Chappell, the future Bishop of Cork. He took his B.A. in the usual course in $162\frac{8}{9}$, and his M.A. in 1632, residing continuously for seven years. With his life after he left Cambridge I have nothing here to do. The sources of information respecting his life at Christ's have been investigated by Prof. Masson with faithful care. I have nothing new to say on the first of the only two points which come within the plan of this book, viz., to what extent Milton profited by his Cambridge course; and but little on the second, what was his relation to the College.

As to the first, even if we pass over the testimony of Aubrey, A. Wood, and Phillips, Milton's nephew, conveniently grouped together by Masson (i. 235), the evidence lies in his own writings. He undoubtedly increased his knowledge of Greek and Latin authors during the five years at Horton after he left Cambridge. But his literary exercises at the University prove his still earlier knowledge of Plato, Aristotle and Cicero, as well as of the poets of antiquity. Even then he

thought in Latin: his exercises are original poems, not mere clever imitations. There is remarkable power in them—power which could only be gained by one who had filled himself with the spirit of classical literature. It is perhaps even more remarkable that his occasional pieces in English have from the beginning the same exquisite grace, and nearly the same finish as his later work. The mastery shown in

> "O fairest flower no sooner blown but blasted,
> Soft silken primrose fading timelessly," etc.

(written in 1626) is hardly less than in the epitaph of Eliz. Paulet of 1631—the

> ". . . tears of perfect moan
> Wept for thee in Helicon";

or in the mightier measure and deeper thought of *Lycidas*.

To pass to the other point—Prof. Masson holds that Milton was at the end of his course universally appreciated, but was for the first years unpopular. Perhaps he assigns undue weight to the banter—for such it surely is—of Milton's first College declamation, to the vision of "infesta capita" seen by the young orator around him. They can in any case hardly have included such men as Samuel Bolton—of whom I shall have to speak later—or others of Milton's contemporaries, well worthy of his friendship. But it is likely enough that many may have been repelled by a certain aloofness in one who (to quote A. Wood's judicious phrase) was "not ignorant of his own parts"—a trait never loved by undergraduates. And indeed Milton was at no time a man of many friends. His relation in his younger days

to the Society is an old—indeed a hackneyed—question. Mead's silence respecting him proves nothing, for he never speaks of any but his own pupils. We know for certain that at some time—probably, as Masson argues, at Easter 1626, when he had been a year in residence—he ceased to be Chappell's pupil, and became Tovey's—a change not common, but wholly a matter of private arrangement. Chappell and Tovey were friends, and it is unlikely that Tovey would have taken Milton if Chappell had any strong feeling against him. Aubrey (see Aubrey-Clark, ii. 63) was told by Chris. Milton, John's younger brother, that Chappell treated him with "some unkindnesse." Inserted over these words is a *varia lectio*, "whipt him." Prof. Masson, who noticed this fact, suggests, I think justly, that Aubrey probably did not get the emendation from Christopher, but from gossip afterwards: "it is exactly the kind of fact that gossip delights to invent" (p. 136). Aubrey had the habit of calling a spade a spade; and I think that, if he heard of a whipping from Christopher, together with the rest of the information about his brother, he would certainly have written it down in its simplicity. But, be that as it may, there is another point which arouses suspicion. According to the amended story Milton was whipped by Chappell. But the right of whipping belonged not to the Tutor but to the Prælector and the Deans.* There is not a word in the Statutes of Christ's College about the Tutor: he occurs in the College Admission-book only because he was liable for his pupils' bills. Apart

* Prof. Masson, doubtless under the impression that the Tutor must be a disciplinary officer, makes the strange blunder of substituting Tutor for Prælector (or Lector, as the Statutes call him) in the Statute about the Lector which he actually quotes.

from this primary function, the relation of a Tutor to his pupil was private; he looked after the pupil's work, and gave him assistance therein, very much as a private tutor might do now; but he had no disciplinary authority whatever. It might of course happen that the Tutor was also the Prælector, and if so the pupil would be bound to attend his lectures as Prælector, and would be punished for slackness in work. But the Prælector for the year 1625-26 was John Simson. Unfortunately I cannot recover the names of the Deans for the year. But the Deans were generally taken at Christ's from the younger Fellows: so it is unlikely that Chappell, who was third in seniority, should be Dean. But he may have been: and on that possibility must rest the story of Milton's whipping by him. The evidence is insufficient; though in itself there is nothing antecedently improbable in the flogging of an undergraduate, who was not yet "adultus."

Certainly there is no sufficient evidence that Milton was ever rusticated. Prof. Masson acutely points out that he kept all his terms without a break. The "exilium" and the "vetiti laris amor" of Milton's letter to Deodati need not mean involuntary absence, but a determination on his part not to return under Chappell as his Tutor.

How Milton was regarded when he left Cambridge is open to no doubt. We have his own acknowledgment, which is above suspicion, in the "Apology for Smectymnuus" (1642), of

"the more than ordinary respect which I found above any of my equals at the hands of those courteous and learned men the Fellows of that College wherein I spent some years; who at my parting, after I had taken two degrees,

as the manner is, signified in many ways how much better it would content them that I would stay: as by many letters full of kindness and loving respect I was assured of their singular good affection for me."

I have found (*Cal. Dom. Papers*, 1631-33, p. 116) a reply made by Bainbridge to the mandate in 1631 for the election of Shute. Bainbridge says that another "holds so strong" [has so strong a claim], that he (Bainbridge) "should conclude himself false to God, to the express will of their famous founders, and false to his country, if he should offer the least violence to his claim." The language is exceedingly strong. Is there any person to whom the words are applicable more than to Milton? No doubt, for a Fellowship Holy Orders within a year were necessary. But Milton had so far taken no step incompatible with taking Orders, though probably he had almost decided the question in his own mind. If Bainbridge really referred to Milton, additional point is given to Milton's letter written about December 1631, as Masson rightly judges, in reply to an unknown friend at Cambridge (Masson, i. 289), who may very well have been one of the Fellows of Christ's, remonstrating with Milton, now that his time *in statu pupillari* was drawing to its end, for his hesitation in taking Orders, and so (it may be suggested) for making his election to a Fellowship less likely.

I must admit that Bainbridge may have had in his mind Sam. Bolton, the future Master of the College, Milton's contemporary, a man of the highest ability and character.

A little junior to Milton at Christ's was our fifth, and I think our last, poet of any note, John Clieveland.

The son of a Vicar of Hinckley who was ejected in 1644, John, the "notable high-soaring witty Loyalist of Cambridge" (so says E. Phillips), was admitted at Christ's in 1627, and was B.A. 163½. On 27 March 1634 he was elected Fellow of St. John's, and resided there till the outbreak of the Civil War, when he joined Charles at Oxford. He had come under the King's notice at Cambridge in 1641. In 164¾ he was ejected, in his absence, by Manchester. He was appointed by the King Judge Advocate (he had taken up law as well as physic at St. John's) at the very important garrison-town of Newark. After its surrender in 1646, he lived precariously till his death in London 29 April 1658. He was immensely popular. His style was the favourite style of the day, and his matter could not but be acceptable to Royalists; indeed, the force of some of his pieces is great, especially of the well-known poem called "The Rebel Scot," called forth by the surrender of the King in 1647. Two of the less ferocious lines of this startling satire are still familiar:

> "Had Cain been Scot, God would have chang'd his doom;
> Not forc'd him wander, but confin'd him home."

But the causes which produced his popularity made it also ephemeral. Bishop Percy (art. Clieveland, in Kippis' *Biographia Britannica*) contrasts his fate in this respect with Milton's, whose works "could with difficulty gain admission to the press, at the time when it was pouring forth Clieveland's in innumerable impressions." But now, says the Bishop, "behold the difference"; the last edition of Clieveland's works was in 1687, while *Paradise Lost* was constantly reproduced down to (and since) the Bishop's days.

I do not know the cause of Clieveland's connexion with this College, but he was followed here by many of his kin—in 1642 by his younger brother Thomas, who died one year afterwards; by his nephew William; and by William's sons, John and Thomas, at the beginning of the next century.

In 1619 the proceeds of Ri. Carr's legacy began to come in. A Yorkshireman by birth, afterwards minister of Hockley in Essex, he left in 1616 his estates at Hockley and Hackwell (now spelt Hawkwell), and the reversion of that at Seely House, to support eight scholars from Giggleswick School with £5 each, and two Fellows, to be elected from them, with £13 6^{s} 8^{d} each. The property proved almost from the beginning to be worth far less than Carr estimated. There is no trace of more than one Fellow—Tempest Thornton in 1623; and the number of scholars in the first twenty-five years never exceeded six, and sank to three. The College somewhat ungraciously made a difficulty about receiving even these. "Giggleswick lads" were poor; indeed, Carr had provided in his will that the choice of those to be sent to Cambridge should be made from "the poorer sort though they be not altogether so well learned as other scholars who have richer friends." It was difficult to find tutors for them, for the Fellows naturally preferred the wealthier pupils who were now flocking to the College. A curious order was, therefore, made 30 September 1635 (Old Lease Book, p. 25) allowing the scholars, after being approved by the College, to be placed at any other College "where it may be for their better advantage and more easie admittance," at which they were to be allowed their exhibitions as though they had been

at Christ's. I am glad to say that the succession of boys from Giggleswick remained unchecked till the middle of the last century; after about a hundred years it recommenced, and is now stronger than ever.

Several applications made at this time to the Vice-Chancellor for an interpretation indicate the vigilance of the Master. Three of them deal with the absence of Fellows. Each Fellow (see p. 22) was by statute entitled to twenty days. He might have thirty more for grave cause allowed by the Master, thirty more with the consent of the Master and Fellows, but no more unless "ingenti ægrotatione aut detentione violenta impeditus." What was "detentio violenta"? Dr. Scott in 1620 decided that it meant, among other things, employment away from Cambridge given by the Lord Chancellor or a Privy Councillor: and I think that he included a tutorship! In 1633-34 Dr. Love allowed extra absence to any Fellow "ad ius suum recuperandum" in any Court of Justice. In 1635-36 Dr. Smith allowed it to a Fellow who had been entrusted with University business by the Senate or by the Chancellor.

On 6 May 1633 was signed "A Decree against Leases for Lives." It will be found at p. 23 of the Old Lease Book, with the signatures of Dr. Bainbridge and all the existing thirteen Fellows from Power to Shute, and it was afterwards signed by twelve later Fellows in order from Norton to Potts. It sets forth that "leases for terme of lives" have been found by experience to be more prejudicial to a Society than leases for any reasonable term of years: and therefore each lease as it falls in is to be renewed for a term of years only; provided that

tithes may still be leased to the holder of any impropriated living for his life.

It may have been due to the visitations of the plague that need was felt to keep the drains and ditches better cleansed. It was in 1610 that water was brought from the Nine Wells at Shelford for this purpose. In 1630 Dr. Butts of Corpus, V.C., collected a considerable sum to defray the expense: and he gave £80 of this to carry a supply of water from the Conduit House at the south end of Trumpington Street to Emmanuel and Christ's Colleges: to which Colleges the right to this water was granted by the Commissioners of Sewers. The poor of the town were "set on work" to make this stream. It was recommended by the Commissioners that the Colleges should allow a portion of the water to come into the street at Emmanuel Gate, and to run down the street so as to flush the King's Ditch at the end of it. The overflow still runs there, and into the sewer beyond Christ's Gateway. The "New River," as it was called, was to be cleansed by the two Colleges from the Conduit Head downwards, and the wooden bridges over it were to be kept in repair. Of these there were several—one by the Almshouse, one near Parker's Piece, one by "the Maids Causey"; also an "arched bridge," perhaps of brick, near Ball's Folly, already mentioned. The College accounts have frequent reference to this expense: for gravel required "to keep the new river from crossing the way," "scouring the new ditch," "clensing the grate at parker's peece," etc. In 1638 the Colleges contracted for £1 10^{s} a year to have the river "clensed from Nunslake [probably a pond near Jesus College] to the end of our peece [Christ's Piece], to Emmanuel brewhouse [elsewhere described as 'Mr. Entwisle's'] and

from the turning of the water into Emmanuel through the bank and so along parker's peece and up to the Spittle house."

In 1636 the summerhouse in the Orchard (perhaps not the present one) is mentioned for the first time. I have found no account of the making of the bath in the garden; it is possible that it was dug out in 1673.

A prominent item in the accounts of these years are the expensive journeyings to hold Courts in Norfolk and Essex, or (nearer home) at Bourn, Impington, Cottenham, etc. The journeys to Norfolk are most frequent. In 1626 one cost £2 3s; also for "2 Fellows £2 7s 0d." In 1635 "to Mr. Honywood for Norfolk journey £5," and also "Mr. Honywood and fellows in Northfolck £4 3s 0d." In 1636 he went to Methwold. In 1637 the Norfolk journey cost £4 2s 3d and £8 5s. In 1636 Mr. Honywood and Mr. Forster go to Bury; also to Kimbolton, probably to wait on the Earl of Manchester. In 1637, on May Day, there was a Court at Bourn, when "half the fine to the College came to £8, besides 6s 0d given to the Jury, 3s 0d to the maides, 2s 6d to the horsekeepers, and 2s 0d to the little boy."* The Fellows who held these Courts were entertained by the tenants, by a provision inserted in the lease in each case. Mead avoided these journeys when possible. "I wonder what they aile," he ejaculates, "to make a fatt man take such journeys to eat rost meat," and he trusts that he may not be required "to hoit [*sic*] up and down further than Quiddenham"—the home of the Hollands.

* It is within the memory of living men how the Master of the College drove out to Bourn with four horses for the same purpose. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

A more important event in the history of the College occurred just before the troubles of the Civil War. This was the erection of the "Fellows' Building" in the Second Court. Unfortunately, it falls within the six years—1639 to 1645—for which the College accounts are wanting. It is very unlikely that Bainbridge kept no account during this time, troubled though it was. Probably the missing book was removed by some Parliamentarian to ascertain the income of the College, and never returned.

The foundations of the new building were laid in 1640, as we learn from an interesting memorandum by Dr. Covel (1719) on the Master's Lodging.* He joined the College in 1654, when the memory of the time was still fresh. New rooms were greatly needed. The entries between 1620-30 averaged between forty and fifty, if we omit the plague year, 1630. For the next decade the average was thirty-seven, and the students were, many of them, sons of landed gentry. In 1641 the number in College was 163. The "Brasen George" in St. Andrew's Street was naturally still used for their accommodation,† a fact which was commented on in the report upon the Colleges of Cambridge to Laud in 1636: "Hard by this House is a Town Inn (they call it the Brasen George) wherein many of these Schollers live lodge and study, and yet the Statutes of the Universitie require that none lodge out of the Colledge where no Governour or Tutor can looke after their pupills as they ought."‡ "Rats' Hall," already

* Printed in Clark's *History*, ii. 212. † See p. 42.

‡ At Emmanuel things were worse. Many of the scholars lived in the "town-houses," and came thence to chapel with their surplices through the streets—doubtless occasionally displaying their contempt for that white rag.

mentioned, must have been regarded as a temporary accommodation: though it actually survived for another century, standing as an eyesore in front of the Fellows' Building. It is probably referred to in the words: "Multa subruit vetustas: nec minori damno sunt *ea quae adjecit necessitas* minuente decorem copiâ," which occur in a circular letter of 163$\frac{8}{9}$ for contributions to the building-fund. The letter recounts the efforts which the Society has made to repair the older buildings: their powers are now exhausted: and they appeal to those who owe their education to the College. The language of the appeal is, on the whole, simple and dignified, with an occasional lapse into comicality. "In angustum coacta Studiosorum domicilia," they say, "et sudantibus Musis liberioris aurae suavitas negatur. Molem aut majestatem suam aliis non invidemus. Nos tantum honestamenta quaedam, salubres recessus et elegantiam aequabilem cupimus."*

The appeal was not made in vain, and the list of contributors contains interesting names of some of the more important members of the College at one of its most flourishing periods.

Among them are Henry Montagu, the first Earl of Manchester, a man "of unquestionable loyalty" (father of Edward, the Parliamentarian General), and his brother, Sir Sidney, of Hinchinbrooke (father of Edward, the first Earl of Sandwich, first a Parliamentarian, then active in "bringing back the King"), who as the septuagenarian M.P. for Hunts in 1642 refused in the House to take the protestation "to live and die with the Earl of Essex," because he "had in his pocket a proclamation

* The whole letter is printed in Clark's *History*, ii. 229.

of the King proclaiming them traitors who should take it": wherefore he was sent to the Tower.*

Other contributors were George Manners, seventh Earl of Rutland, who was entered here with two brothers in 1594; Sir John Cutts, of Childerley, one of the standing committee of the Eastern Counties Association in 1643; Sir Randolph Crew, Lord Chief Justice; Sir John Holland, of Quiddenham, Norfolk, where he was active for the Parliament; Sir Justinian Isham, of Lamport, who as a Royalist was imprisoned and compounded for his estates; Sir Thomas Bludder, of Ryegate; Sir Jeffrey Palmer, of Carlton, Notts, one of the managers of the impeachment of Strafford, afterwards himself imprisoned as a Royalist; Sir Thomas Widdrington, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Speaker of the House of Commons in 1656; Denzil Holles (see p. 167); Drayner Massingberd, of Braytoft, Lincs, who took a prominent part both in the Civil War and in the Commonwealth; Sir Thomas Willis, of Ditton, M.P. for Cambridge in the Convention Parliament; John Dinely, Secretary to the Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I.; Dr. Gabriel More, Prebendary of Westminster; and many others whom I have not space to mention.

The amount given was £2,589 17^{s} 2^{d}, which apparently sufficed. But it was not all received in time: and there are records in the Old Lease Book (p. 27) of moneys borrowed in 1640 and later: from Mr. Roger Thompson,† £100 in 1640 and £200 more in 1641;

* Another brother, James, first Master of Sidney, has already been mentioned (see p. 111) as a member of this College: and there were several other members of the family: two sons of Earl Henry, George (father of Charles, Earl of Halifax) and Sidney; and two sons of a fourth brother, James of Laccham in Wilts.

† He was the College brewer. One of this name, son of Rob. of Cambridge, was admitted pensioner in 1647.

from Mr. John Crane (? the wealthy physician) £60; and from Mr. Melvill £100 in May and £100 in June 1641. These sums seem to have been repaid before the end of 1642. Mich. Honywood, the Fellow, lent £100, and £40 later to make some of the rooms habitable: which was repaid him in 1649 through Ra. Widdrington, Honywood being then beyond seas. The items are given in his own handwriting, with a "memorandum": "This I laid out upon hope that in no long time the building would be inhabited: so meant to receive it as they came into the Chambers, which now, when it will be, God knowes. If the Colledg were able, I should be glad now to receive it, and the Colledg to receive it in time of the Incumers, but I believe it is not. Patienza. Jan: 16th 1644. Mich: Honywood." Widdrington's receipt for the sum in 1649 comes immediately below this quaint entry.

The earliest book of Study Rents begins in February 164$\frac{4}{5}$, and promptly breaks off for ten years. In that year the "New Building" has but few tenants, owing to the diminished number of students in the unsettled time. Regulations respecting rent, income, etc., are contained in six orders of the Master and Fellows dated 8 November 1642. Of these the most important is the last, viz., that not more than four Fellows are to be allowed to inhabit the building at once; it was intended for fellow-commoners and wealthy pensioners. But this self-denying ordinance was soon broken; two more Fellows had special permission to live there, and an order signed by Dr. Bolton and seven Fellows—undated, but not later than 1654—makes it lawful henceforward for six Fellows to live there. In 1665 there lived in the south-east room on the second floor Tho.

Burnet, afterwards Master of the Charterhouse; and in the north-east room lived (and died) Henry More. Fellow-commoners in the building at the same time were Edw. Montagu, grandson of the first Earl of Manchester and donor of the handsome "Montagu cup"; Will., son of Tho. Windham, of Felbrigg; Fra. Robarts, son of the second Lord Truro ("politician and musician" (*D.N.B.*); he was F.R.S. and author of "a discourse on the musical notes of a trumpet"); Dan. Eliot, of Port Eliot, Cornwall; and others.

The building "is manifestly the work of a great architect within and without" (J. W. Clark, *ib.*, p. 203), and it is unfortunate that the architect is unknown; for the tradition which ascribes it to Inigo Jones has no authority and no inherent probability. The style invites comparison with the nearly contemporaneous buildings of Clare; the Christ's building is stronger and more dignified, but as a single block it cannot rival the picturesqueness of the beautiful quadrangle. The details are classical. But it is curious how slight is the development out of the latest Gothic, as seen in the rather earlier building of the west side of the third court of St. John's. If the dormers (which in our building stand back, each behind a short balustrade in the otherwise solid parapet) were brought forward into the spaces occupied by the balusters, the external effect would be identical with that of the Johnian building, except for the employment of stone instead of brick; and the same is true of the rest of the building, if the slightly projecting mouldings and a few other classical details were removed.

CHAPTER VI

THE CIVIL WAR AND THE COMMONWEALTH

Masters: Thomas Bainbridge, 1622-46; Samuel Bolton, 1646-54; Ralph Cudworth, 1654-88

In default of the Account-book for the very important years 1639-45, we cannot learn as much as we should desire of the special history of the College during those seven years of scarcity and military domination.* It was not devotedly loyal—it sent neither plate nor money to Charles in 1642; neither was it distinctively Puritan; among the Fellows the balance inclined to the Royalist side. In 1640 the Society resisted successfully a royal mandate to elect one Maxwell, a nominee of the King, chiefly at the instigation of Honywood, as Bishop Maxwell of Ross wrote on August 1 to Secretary Windebank.

Power, the senior of the Fellows, was nearly as old as the Master; and (possibly because of his suspected leaning to Popery) he seems for many years to have taken no part in College business; but he emerges once more in 1643, when on the day before the beginning of Easter

* See Kingston's *East Anglia*, and Cooper's *Annals*, vol. iii.; but Christ's is hardly mentioned in either.

Term, while on his way to St. Mary's as Lady Margaret preacher, "he was furiously pursued over the market-place by a confused number of soldiers, who in a barbarous uncivil manner cryed out, A Pope, a Pope, and vowed high revenge if he offered to go into the Pulpitt" (*Querela Cantabrigiensis*, p. 10). Power, who must have been at least sixty-six at the time, was glad to escape with his life to Christ's.

Many of the older Fellows went away about this time: Gell to London, Alsop to Great Wigborough, Fenwick to Chigwell, Shute to Navenby; Foster died in College 3 September 1640. The majority of their successors and the Junior Fellows already elected disappeared about 1643.

The College, like the rest, had to bear its share toward the expenses of the Parliamentary levies—the proposal that the Colleges should be exempted from such charge having been rejected by the House of Commons. By 1644 the difficulty of getting money from the farmers was felt (Old Lease Book, p. 33), and the Master adds a note to the list of debts that "all will acknowledge it most reasonable and just that the Colledg allow them me"; and on July 1 an order was made (*ib.*, p. 32) that the Master was to be no further required to account annually for such sums, whether received or not.

But the shortness of rents was not the only difficulty. It was an inconvenient season for the College to receive new capital. About this time Henry Wilson's gift of £500 was received. What was to be done with it? Was it to be left to the spoiler? Some of the Fellows took a bold step, for which they seem to me hardly blameworthy. Their action and reasons are set forth

in a curious letter written to Cudworth by Will. Brearley, Rector of Clipston,* on 9 February $166\frac{5}{6}$ (see Adam Wall's MS. in the University Library, Mm. v. 46, p. 42). After describing the receipt of the money "a little before the late scenes of confusion," he continues:

"The Fellows, some of them, without the privity of the Master and some other of their consocii, held a consultation how that money might be best secured to the College and not be exposed to the rapine of the invaders. . . . It appeared afterwards (though for my own part I knew nothing of the resolve till a good while after, and this I protest to in the presence of God) that it was the result of their consultation, that they who would might take what they pleased of that money, giving in their several bonds to the College for their several sums. When a great part of the money was disposed of, then I think an outed Fellow came to me and wished me to do as some others had done; and argued the case, that he thought I had a good wish for the College as they had and would not refuse to do the College that good office. I replied that I wished the College well, as any of them all: and that if the securing of £20 would be accepted of, I should do that to the best of my power. Now, I think, Will Bunchly [the manciple] brought me the money and I delivered him my bond or a bill of my hand to repay it in God's time according to the conduct of his providence, that was when things might be settled, and I in a solvent condition. Now, sir, if you will procure me my bond, the money shall be paid."

The accounts show that in 1666 Brearley paid £15. In 1667 he died, leaving the remainder still due. In

* He had been presented in 1644 by Rob. Brearley, "civis et fishmonger" of London, to whom the College gave the next presentation —doubtless to save it.

1672 £20 was received from Knightley and from Chris. Bainbridge, and £10 from Tonstall. Five years later Huxley paid £20. The remainder is unaccounted for, and I fear was lost.

Brearley, in the same letter, adds that one John Rudd of Christ's (see p. 94), a friend of Sam. Ward, had intended to leave £200 to the College for two exhibitions for boys from Durham School. He says:

"This good man died soon after [10 July 1640] and we were in but a tottering condition. His will I heard was left to the execution of Dr. Sam. Ward, who himself not long after was summoned out of the world [7 September 1643], and we within a little while made dead in law to all intents and purposes as to Christ's College."

He asks Cudworth to inquire into this. But the inquiry, if made, did not bring the money to the College.

The damage done in Cambridge by the forces stationed there from time to time was small, despite the *Querela Cantabrigiensis* and similar laments; the House of Lords quickly repressed the violence threatened early in 1643. It is probable that Dr. Bainbridge was one of the Heads who, when shut up in the Consistory till midnight on Good Friday of that year, firmly declared it to be against their conscience to contribute to the expenses of the war; Sam. Ward, a stronger Puritan than Bainbridge, took that line. Next January the energetic Will. Dowsing appeared in the chapel: "divers Pictures and Angells" were pulled down, and Dr. Bainbridge promised to take down "the steps"; but it was only at Emmanuel and Sidney that the precursor of Mr. John Kensit could declare that there was nothing to be done. It is possible that the College may have

had some favour. Sir John Cutts, of Childerley, Deputy-Lieutenant for the county, and a very active Parliamentarian at Cambridge, was an old member of it; and it had family claims on Edward Earl of Manchester, commander of the Parliamentarian forces (see p. 156).

On 13 March 164$\frac{3}{4}$, under the ordinance for regulating the University and for removing scandalous ministers in the seven associated counties, Manchester removed the Masters of nine Colleges; at Christ's Dr. Bainbridge was suffered to remain. But the Fellows had harder measure: Tho. Norton, Will. Brearley, Chr. Bainbridge, and Tho. Wilding were ejected; the goods in College of Norton, Brearley, Wilding, and also of Mich. Honywood (who had probably ceased to be a Fellow), were seized (*Cal. Dom. Pap.* (*Add.* 1625-49), p. 755); and Gerard Wood, Ra. Tonstall, probably Edw. Knightley, Joh. Potts, and Tho. Huxley, all elected between 1640-42, shared the same fate. Power was formally ejected, but the old man seems to have been suffered to continue till 1646, when he probably died.* Chris. Bainbridge and Huxley were replaced in 1660. Wilding would have been restored in 1661, but in that year the College compounded with him by giving him £20 "to save the Colledg from the charge of another supernumerary and on accompt of his sufferings." The three survivors were Will. Moore (or More), who obtained Honywood's living (Kegworth), Ra. Widdrington, and Hen. More. We learn something of the matter from the recrimina-

* Fisher-Hymers, 100; Walker, *Sufferings*, ii. 143. The exact date of the ejectment is uncertain; Power, Brearley, Chr. Bainbridge, Wilding and Huxley sign an order in the Old Lease Book (p. 33) respecting College debts, on 1 July 1644. Norton seems to have been created a Baronet in 1661, and lived till 1691.

tions of Cudworth and Widdrington after the Restoration. Widdrington says that the two Mores alone conformed in 1644; and it is true that he was obliged to leave the College for almost two years, till "a relation or two of his" prevailed with the Committee that he might be allowed to return into residence. But he was never ejected.

The successors to the sufferers up to 1645 were not, as a whole, men of mark. They were almost all aliens, a fact which implies that Christ's did not then supply Puritans of sufficient note to become Fellows; one was of King's, one of Peterhouse, four of Emmanuel, two of Oxford. None had a long tenure, all disappearing before 1654. Probably none of them were extreme men, except Hen. Field, who was imprisoned after the Restoration for nonconformity, and died in the Gatehouse, Westminster.

The fall in numbers at Cambridge was sharp, and the rebound equally so. A comparison of the register of admissions at Christ's with those of two other Colleges (which have been published) gives the following result:

	St. John's.	Caius.	Christ's.
From July 1641-42 ...	39	16	27
1642-43 ...	13	23	15
1643-44 ...	9	16	12
1644-45 ...	42	42	58
1645-46 ...	90	40	52

We are not without means of discovering how far the sympathy of non-official members of the College lay with the King or the Parliament in the great struggle. If we take the list of clergymen drawn up by Mr. W. M.

Palmer* in the one county of Cambridge who were deprived of their livings during the Civil War chiefly because of their Royalist opinions, we shall find that out of sixty-eight who were ejected (mainly in 1644) ten were Christ's men. These were Will. Brearley, from Burwell; Tho. Saunders, from Caldecote; Geo. Otway, from Chatteris; Joh. Morden, from Foulmire; Joh. Tolly, from Little Gransden; Joh. Slegg, from Histon; Fra. Durham, from Melbourn; Mich. Selbie, from Pampisford; Joh. Munday, from Little Wilbraham; Edw. Furnace, from Wisbech. On the other hand, if we turn to Calamy, or rather to the redaction of his work by Sam. Palmer, for those who were ejected or silenced in 1662, we shall find eighty-seven in different parts of England who were almost certainly members of the College, and about twenty more who are doubtful. Especially noteworthy is the large number among these sufferers who were admitted at Christ's in the five years 1644 to 1648. These are, in 1644, Sam. Wright, Tho. Boyer, Jos. Swaffield; in 1645, Will. Cook, Tho. Edge, Luke Cranwell, Edw. Parr, Hen. Pendlebury, Phil. Ormston, Jer. Marsden; in 1646, Owen Stockton, Rob. Caton, Rob. Seddon, Ben. Flower; in 1647, Tho. Wadsworth, Tim. Fox, Rob. Gouge, Jos. Sherwood, John Howe, Jos. Devereux; in 1648, Tim. Staniforth, Sam. Ogden, Ri. Frankland, Edw. Fletcher, Tho. Leadbeater, Tho. Rose, Tho. Porter; of these twenty-seven many were really remarkable men. Further evidence on the same side may be obtained from Mr. Kingston's lists of the members of the Eastern Association Committees in 1645; of these the following may be claimed for the College with certainty or high probability: in

* See Kingston's *East Anglia*, p. 393.

Cambridgeshire, Tho. Bendish, Neville Butler, Rob. Castle, Walt. Clopton; in Essex, Tho. Aylett, Nat. Bacon, Ant. Luther, Sam Plume, Oliv. Raymond, Joh. Sayer, Fra. Stonehard; in Hunts, Joh. Castle, Sir Tho. Cotton, Geo. Montagu; in Lincs, Will. Ellis, Ja. and Joh. Harrington (doubtful), Hen. and Drayner Massingberd,* Tho. Rossiter, Edw. Whichcote; in Norfolk, Phil. Beddingfield, Miles Corbet (the regicide), Sir John Holland, Fra. and Rob. Jermy, Rob. Sheppard; in Suffolk, Nat. and Nich. Bacon.

But conspicuous above the rest in English history stand out two men, one on either side. The first is Denzil Holles. The second son of John Holles (see p. 89), he proceeded regularly at Christ's to M.A. in 1616; he was in residence in 161$\frac{4}{5}$, when he acted Antonius in Ruggles' *Ignoramus* before James I. at Clare Hall. I need only refer to Dr. S. R. Gardiner's *History of England*, 1603-42, vol. vii., pp. 67-76, for the part which he played on the memorable day 2 March 162$\frac{8}{9}$; how he held the Speaker down in his seat, when he proposed to leave the chair, with the unmistakable words, "You shall sit till we please to rise"; and how, afterwards, when no one else saw what course to take, he repeated to the House from memory Eliot's resolutions, and put the question himself. He was also one of the five members whom Charles attempted to seize in their place in the House in 1642 (*ib.*, x. 128-141). Later in life, like the two Edward Montagus and many others, he drifted back to Royalism, and survived the Restoration for twenty years, becoming Lord Holles of Ifield in 1661.

* The lives of these brothers are very interesting; they are given at length in W. O. Massingberd's *History of Ormsby*.

The other was Sir Charles Lucas. Born about 1615, the youngest son of Sir Tho. Lucas, of Colchester, he was admitted at the age of fourteen a fellow-commoner at Christ's under Joh. Alsop. Knighted in 1639 for his service to the King in the second Scottish war, he fought on the Royalist side throughout the Civil War, and approved himself one of the best cavalry leaders. Taken prisoner at Marston Moor he was exchanged, and in 1645 was appointed Lieut.-General of the King's Cavalry. Again made prisoner at Stow-in-the-Wold in 1646, he was released on parole, and engaged not to bear arms against the Parliament. But in spite of this he took a leading part in the memorable defence of his native town. When Colchester capitulated on 27 August 1648, he was tried by court-martial, and was shot next day in the Castle-yard, "no traitor, but a true subject to the King and the laws of my country."

Samuel Bolton was elected the twelfth Master of Christ's on the death of Thomas Bainbridge in September 1646. A Lancashire man, and educated at Manchester, he was admitted at Christ's 15 June 1625 in the same year as John Milton. He left Cambridge in 1633, and took work at Harrow and at several parishes in London. There is no evidence that he was imposed upon an unwilling College from without; it is one of Widdrington's complaints against the College that "all elections were made of sympathisers," and that "all the loyal Fellows were passed over for Dr. Bolton." Widdrington (by his own showing) was the only loyal Fellow remaining. There is some evidence that at this time the College was free to elect whom it would; in January 164$\frac{5}{6}$ one Edw. Perkins of Cath. Hall petitioned the House of Lords to appoint him to a vacant

Fellowship, because he had been a student of the University for eight years, and desired, as he ingenuously said, "to continue his studies in the same for his own and the public good." The Lords do not seem to have been eager to act in the matter, for they required the petitioner to make it plain that the said Fellowship was in the disposal of Parliament. However, on January 30 they satisfied themselves that they could deal with it, and ordered the Master and Fellows "to proceed to choose Edward Perkins." But in spite of the order of the House* the Society did not elect this eager student. Nevertheless, it is probable that in their election to the Mastership the Society were satisfied that they were not likely to displease Parliament by their election of a very able man whose early marriage had excluded him from a Fellowship.

Bolton was Master for eight years only, and there is little record of his life at Cambridge; he was Vice-Chancellor in 1651-52. Possibly after so long an absence he felt himself more at home in London. But the effect of his character was great, as appears from some striking verses in his praise (suffixed to Calamy's sermon on his death) by three Fellows of the College, Jos. Sedgwick, Tho. Standish, and Will. Leigh, and by Joh. Crofts. Sedgwick speaks of him as absent-minded:

> "One to the world so dead, that evermore
> In the world's things he seemed stept out of doore."

Yet his accounts are well and carefully kept, though he rarely succeeded in keeping the expenses within the receipts—possibly not by his own fault.

He was a great preacher: "he snatcht our souls by

* Cooper, *Ann.*, iii. 378, note.

vigorous sympathy," as Sedgwick well puts it. Calamy records that "his desire to win souls to Christ by preaching was so great that though he had no ministerial charge of his own, yet notwithstanding he preached gratis once every Lord's Day for many years together."

In 1650 a scheme was drawn up by Parliament for the augmentation of some of the Masterships in Cambridge. This carried out, though incompletely, the recommendation in November 1644 of the Earl of Manchester, that every Headship should be raised to £300 a year. The value of the Mastership of Christ's was stated to be £110 1^{s} 8^{d}—considerably more than it was twenty years before, and £50 was added to increase it (MS. Baker, xxv. 398). This must have become law, for in March 1654 Bolton petitions the Protector and Council for the £50 which had been granted him, to enable him to reside at Cambridge; he had not been paid for a year and a half, and had no means of subsistence (*Cal. Dom. Papers*, 1654, pp. 52, 355). This was allowed on September 1. Similar supplications seem to have produced the Order of Council (7 April 1654) that no augmentation be allowed where the Master holds any benefice not attached to his Mastership.

At the end of his life Bolton suffered from a tedious sickness, "and when he saw any probable symptoms of death (which he called the little crevices at which his soul did peep out) he was exceeding joyful" (Calamy, *Sermon*, p. 26). Yet on 2 September 1654 he was appointed one of the Visitors for both Universities and for certain schools, together with Lightfoot and Cudworth. But on 15 October he died, aged forty-eight. According to Cole (xx. p. 68) he was buried at St. Martin's, Ludgate: which implies that he died in

London. A portrait said to be his hangs in the gallery of the Hall, but the face is different from that given in Calamy's *Sermon*. His works, which are rare (see the list in *D.N.B.*), are worth study; though not free from the excessive amplification common in the religious writings of the time, they are clear, full of thought, terse and pithy in expression. I quote a few sentences from the preface to *The Tossed Ship, a Word in Season to a Sinking Kingdom:* "Like the spark in the fire, or the drop in the sea, so our good doth more consist in God than in ourselves. He that seeks to be something out of God, begins to be nothing; but he that can be nothing for God, findes himselfe all in God, and God all to him."

The Fellows elected under Bolton were somewhat more distinguished than their predecessors. One was Will. Owtram of Trinity, author of the *De Sacrificiis*, afterwards Archdeacon of Leicester and Prebendary of Westminster. Another was Geo. Rust (one of three elected in 1649 from Catharine Hall), author of *The Use of Reason in Matters of Religion*, and of other works edited after his death by Hen. Hallewell, also Fellow of Christ's. He became Dean of Connor through the support of Jeremy Taylor, and finally Bishop of Dromore. After 1650 vacancies occur at the normal rate; they were mostly filled up by members of the College. It is doubtful whether any were sufficiently royalist to be moved to resign by the Engagement of 1650. Scornful reference to Christ's occurs in a well-known letter of Sam. Dillingham of Emmanuel to Sancroft in December 1650.

"Widdrington, More jun. [Hen. More] and Nicholls did the like [*i.e.*, subscribed] and indeed were the first that

led: the rest of Christ's gave in a paper miserably laughed at, Sir Thomas Martin swearing that they offered more than the Parliament required. . . . You have already the main body, besides which here and there a straggler fell in: Mr Cudworth, Smith of Queen's his emulator, Gooday, Vinter, men of all religions. . . ."

Dillingham explains the attitude of some of the conformers by saying that they did not alter their views, but thought themselves bound by the Engagement negatively, only so long "till a party should appear against the present power. Happy men that can so construe it. I have not learned so far yet." One of the most distinguished of the new Heads appointed to take the place of more scrupulous predecessors was John Lightfoot of Christ's, the famous Orientalist, Master of Catharine Hall 1650-75, under whose rule that College greatly prospered.

The attitude of Henry More throughout the troubles may surprise us. But though he was a Fellow before and after the war, we may judge him incapable of trying to make the best of both régimes. There is nothing in his character to make us expect that he would take a strong part either way. He was constitutionally inactive; he was royalist in sympathy: but his theology, as that of all his fellow-thinkers, rested on Puritanism; and resistance to the King was largely conceived of as resistance to Popery.

Ra. Widdrington was equally versatile. Born of a good Northumberland family—"more remarkable for his birth than his sufferings," says the sarcastic Baker—he was always to the front. An active tutor in College for more than thirty years, in 1642 he had under him as fellow-commoners Francis, son of

Sir Fra. Williamson of Isleworth; Robert, son of Sir Cha. Middleton of Belshay, Northumberland; John, son of Joh. Lambton of Durham; and William, son of Sir Will. Howard of Naworth: and a few men of good birth from the North were under his charge as late as 1670. He also had more than a usual share of University preferment. Having taken the Engagement in 1650, he was preferred to the Public Oratorship, by the Committee for the regulation of the University, in place of the less compliant Henry Molle, and he held it till 1672. This matter naturally was brought up against him after the Restoration. He replied that he had not got Molle ejected during "the usurpation";* on the contrary Molle resigned in his (Widdrington's) favour; and he had paid Molle all the stipend of the office for the remaining seven or eight years of his life. Generally he attributes his position to the influence of his brother, Sir Tho. Widdrington, Speaker of the House of Commons, not to his own "compliance with the rebels." That he adapted himself to the times appears from his own defence. When accused of disowning his orders, he asks, why "when most of the Sons of the Church were forced to put on a disguise," might he not change his habit? Was it a crime in him "to wear an artist's gown (belonging to his office) or a plush jacket?" He reaped his reward. From 1654-60 (when he resigned the office) he was Greek Professor, being elected against Isaac Barrow, who according to Aubrey† "had the

* See Adam Wall, MS. (Univ. Library, Mm. v. 48), for the charges against Widdrington. Baker says that the order was not of Widdrington's procuring, nor with his knowledge: Mayor, *Life of Matt. Robinson*, p. 200.

† Aubrey-Clark, i. 90. See also Whewell, preface to Barrow's *Works*, ix., p. 13. The admission was "virtute literarum patentum Oliveri Domini Protectoris."

consent of the University, but Oliver Cromwell put in D^r^ Widdrington." Barrow himself speaks of Widdrington with politeness, perhaps perfunctory, as

"doctissimus ille et disertissimus vir, Professor simul nuperrimus et Orator Academicus, quem una sua vobis, etiam de se quæ nihil dicat, quam mille meae plus commendaverit oratio: quo certe haud alius quisquam de hoc loco deque hisce litteris præclarius meruisset, si quam bene legit tam legisset et sæpe, atque illi per valetudinem aut saltem per graviora negotia id licuisset" (*ib.*, ix. 140).

The reference to the more important business which prevented the discharge of the duties of an important office has a sarcastic note: Barrow doubtless meant more than the work of one delegacy to which Widdrington was appointed in 1659—to petition against the proposed University of Durham!* It may be noticed here (by anticipation) that at the Restoration Widdrington was an Ishmael in the College. Pepys, whose brother John was admitted of Christ's under him in $16\frac{5}{6}\frac{9}{0}$, records in his Diary of 21 February how "M^r^ Fuller of Christ's told me very freely of the temper of M^r^ Widdrington how he did oppose all the Fellows in the College and feared it would be little to my brother's advantage to be his pupil"; and a year later John, who had become a scholar of the College, reported that Dr. Widdrington was "quite out of interest there," and had transferred his pupils to Mr. Pepper, a young Durham Fellow.

The College accounts for this time show several taxes —some heavy—imposed upon the College. One of

* Cooper, *Ann.*, iii. 473. It should perhaps be noted that Sancroft called him his "most worthy and honoured friend." See Mayor, *Life of Matt. Robinson*, p. 197.

5^{s} 4^{d} a month between 1649 and 1651 was for the Committee for regulating the University. The "Commissioners at the Beare" [inn] had 9^{s} 4^{d} in 1654. A tax for the maintenance of the army lasted from 1650 to 1659: it averaged about £20 a year from 1651 to 1654 inclusive: afterwards it was much smaller. The College estates were also "taxed," chiefly those in Cambridge and the associated counties. In 1652 the charges amounted to £53 12^{s} 3^{d}. Entries of small douceurs "to free us from a quarter of soldiers" occur occasionally. There was also an "extraordinary" rate for the poor. In 1652 it was "£4 3^{s} 8^{d} above allowance, by reason of the multitude of the poor." Next year it rose to £5 19^{s} 11^{d}. After 1655 this charge ceases.

The remaining years of the Commonwealth are unmarked by anything of interest in the College. My account of Bolton's successor will come more conveniently in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VII

THE PLATONISTS OF CHRIST'S

Master: Ralph Cudworth, 1654–88

Ralph Cudworth was educated at Emmanuel, the nurse of many other Heads of Colleges in the Puritan days. Born in 1617, the son of a former Fellow of Emmanuel, he was himself elected Fellow in 1639. He is said to have had an unusual number of pupils; this implies a temperament more genial than we should expect from his later years. Promotion came to him early. In 1645, when he was only twenty-eight, he was made Master of Clare Hall, displacing Dr. Paske;* and in the same year he succeeded Metcalf as Professor of Hebrew. Shortly afterwards (in 1647) he preached a remarkable sermon before the House of Commons, in which he disparages "the many opinions about religion that are everywhere so keenly contested on all sides" as "so many shadows fighting with one another," when contrasted with Christianity resting on "the life of Christ as the pith and kernel of all religion." He

* I understand that he was not admitted Master earlier than 1650, and that during the intervening time his connexion with the College was nominal.

reiterates his main point in clear and forcible English: and but for its length—it may have seemed too short then —and for its illustration by similes, classical and other, the sermon would not sound strange in a pulpit of to-day.*

About 1651 Cudworth thought of leaving Cambridge. The income of the Mastership was probably small, if we may judge from the exceptionally large augmentation (£100 a year) proposed by Parliament, and he may have been straitened in means, though he was allowed to retain his Fellowship at Emmanuel; this he probably vacated by taking the College living of North Cadbury, in Somersetshire, where he resided part of each year. He was transferred from Clare to Christ's 29 October 1654. He was doubtless already known to Henry More and George Rust: and he lived on good terms with the Fellows except Widdrington, who tried to supplant him at the Restoration. In Widdrington's language, "the intruders [that is to say, the other Fellows] falsely represented in a petition in Cudworth's favour that Cudworth had been statutably elected, and for six years had statutably governed the College." Cudworth, who felt himself insecure, was confirmed by the King under signet in 1660, and obtained a warrant for the Broad Seal in further confirmation. More fortunate than the Heads of eleven Colleges, who were ejected, he held his own (by the help as he thought chiefly of Bishop Sheldon), and remained Master of the College till his death, after a tenure of thirty-four years.

* It has been published separately by Mr. Rendel Harris, Fellow of Clare College (Wallis, 1879), and considerable extracts from it are given by Dr. Tulloch in his *Rational Theology in England*, vol. ii., p. 229. To this volume, which is entirely devoted to the Cambridge Platonists, I am much indebted.

Two only of the dispossessed Fellows, Chris. Bainbridge and Tho. Huxley, were reinstated; but one of these succeeded to an ordinary vacancy, and the Junior Fellow, Joh. Covel, stood aside for the other for a year, receiving, however, his stipend and allowances.

In University matters Cudworth took no prominent part, nor was he ever elected Vice-Chancellor, though there could be no doubt of his capacity; both his friends Whichcote and Worthington held the office: so his theological views were not the obstacle. Perhaps he was one of those men who, early urged by circumstances into activity which is not natural to them, develop in their later days an increasing aversion to public life. The scanty records of him give the impression of a lonely man, apt to take offence even at his few intimate friends. He was presented to Toft in 1656 by "the Hon. Committee for the approbation of Ministers and Public Preachers";* but he soon resigned it, and became Rector of Ashwell in 1662 on the presentation of the Bishop of London. He had no further preferment, except a prebend of Gloucester in 1678.

He kept the accounts of the College clearly and well; and a little book exists in his handwriting, which gives a valuable sketch of the College property at his time.

* The form of presentation during the Commonwealth is curious. One occurs in the Old Lease Book. Record is made of the wishes of the parish, but otherwise the College preserved the usual peremptory form of address to the Bishop, *mutatis mutandis*. Thus on 20 July 1652, it presented Edw. Wale, clerk, being well assured of his piety and learning, "and upon the earnest request of the greatest parte of the well-affected inhabitants of the parish on his behalfe." The presentation is addressed "to the Keepers of the Libertie of England by Authority of Parliament, or to whomsoever else of [*sic*] admitting presentacions doe apperteine"; so that Edw. Wale may be "instituted and inducted into the same rectory and parsonage."

Indeed, he complains much of the hindrance his bursarial occupation was to his literary work. We may perhaps attribute his comparative unproductiveness as an author rather to a constitutional slowness in giving his work its final shape. For he was a constant writer: ten large volumes of his MSS. rest in the British Museum, of which nine are, and will probably remain, unpublished. His friends urged him in vain. Thus, on 12 November 1664, Worthington writes (*Diary*, ii., 140) that he is earnestly pressing him to "despatch his studies upon Daniel's Weeks, the most considerable place in the Testament for the interest of Christianity." More declared that Cudworth's "demonstration is of as much price and worth in theology as either the circulation of the blood in physic or the motion of the earth in natural philosophy." But nothing came of it.

In the thirty-four years of his Mastership he published nothing but the *True Intellectual System of the Universe* (1678), a great work, though it does not nearly carry out the plan which he had proposed to himself. Warburton says—I do not know on what authority—that Cudworth was disgusted by the charge of atheism brought against the part published, and therefore brought out no more. The *Eternal and Immutable Morality*—in which he maintains that the moral difference of right and wrong is antecedent to any Divine law—was not published for more than forty years after his death, long after popular judgment had accepted the theory which it was meant to forestall. It was edited by the son of Damaris, Lady Masham, Cudworth's daughter, at whose house Locke passed the last years of his life. "The close connexion which subsisted between Locke, the foremost name amongst the

empirical philosophers of modern times, and the daughter of Cudworth, the most uncompromising of the *à priori* moralists and philosophers of the seventeenth century, may be regarded as one of the ironies of literary history" (Fowler, *Life of Locke*, p. 62).

From a "statement" of Cudworth and the Fellows given in *Cal. Dom. Pap.*, 1660-61, p. 574, it appears that he ejected Widdrington from his Fellowship for "contumacy and neglect of statutes," though a "failure in trust" is also alleged. Widdrington, however, who had good interest, was reinstated by a Committee of the Privy Council. His exculpations and recriminations, preserved in Adam Wall's MSS., are curious, but too long to be inserted here. The chief gravamen against Cudworth was that he put on mourning for the usurper, and did "in a profane lamentation worship him when he was dead, and styled that execrable villain 'our Sun . . . the Great Prince whose memory is blessed'"—*i.e.*, in the verses which he contributed on the death of Cromwell. Widdrington had no such memory of past favours. His prosperity returned. In 1661 he was made D.D. *per lit. regias;* from 1664 to 1676 he was Lady Margaret Preacher; and from 1672 (when he resigned the oratorship) till his death in 1688 he was Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity.

There is evidence that Cudworth was regarded some years later as a safe mark for attack in the University. He seems to have felt scruple at allowing the statutes to be overridden by special license, such as that given by Elizabeth's Commission of 1559 to the five Senior Preachers to hold with a Fellowship a living distant not more than twenty miles from Cambridge, and not worth

more than £20 a year.* The time was hardly opportune. Dr. Wilford, the Vice-Chancellor, decided as Visitor on 10 May 1666, that "local statutes and all pretended interpretations thereof are evidently dispensed with by the Royal Authority"; and he offensively enjoined on "you, Dr. Ralph Cudworth, submission and thankfulness" to the same.

Cudworth's dilatoriness in authorship once nearly caused a feud between him and Henry More. There are some curious letters relating to the matter in the second volume of Worthington's *Diary*. Worthington was their common friend, and each writes to him. In 166⅘ Cudworth complains to Worthington that More is trying to forestall his proposed book on Natural Ethics. He says that he told More that he would stand aside for him; that later More came to see him, and made the same offer; whereupon he (Cudworth) set himself more earnestly about it. He recognises More's morality, ingenuity, and friendship for him, but ends by saying that if More "should violate friendship in this kind, it would more afflict me than all that Dr. Widdrington ever did, and make me sick of Christ's College and of all things in this life." There is a second letter in the same tone: then one from More to Worthington on January 24, from Ragley (where More frequently resided as the guest of Lady Conway, sister of Sir John Finch), implying that Cudworth would never get his book written; that he (More) has nearly finished his;

* In 1676 Sir Tho. Page, V.C., gave on Cudworth's request an interpretation that the £20 meant that sum clear of all annual and necessary deductions. He also decided that the "annua substantia" which voided a Fellowship was not to be interpreted of an income of one year only, but "a certain estate yearly so long as the person therewith invested shall live."

but that he has asked Tho. Standish (Fellow of Christ's, and friendly with both) to tell Cudworth that his book shall not appear till Cudworth's is published, "which, if it will not content him, I shall be very much at a loss to know what his meaning is." In another letter of February 7 More writes that "such scrupulosities as he makes could never have entered into the thoughts of anyone but himself, I think." More adds that he was urged by friends to write his book, and so became entangled; but all the while he knew nothing either of the time or the scope of Cudworth's writing. "I would never," he continues, "give Dr. Cudworth so solemn an account as this, for fear he should have taken the pet and deprived the world of his lucubrations, which, I doubt not, will prove very laudable and useful." Afterwards he says that each may very well write against vice and falsehood, "the one stabbing with a dagger (such is my *Enchiridion*), the other slashing with a broad-sword." On 10 May 1665 More writes: "It never came into my mind to print this *Enchiridion* till his book was out, unless he would have professed his like of the project. I am very sorry and much concerned at his taking my writing this book so heinously." He offers to have a copy transcribed and sent to Worthington, as he is "loth that what I have writ on so edifying a subject should be lost. . . . I am infinitely pleased in my mind that I find my obligation of writing books cut to pieces in me, and myself set free to more private meditations. I have lived the servant of the public hitherto. It is a great ease to me to be manumitted thus, and left to the polishing of myself and the licking myself whole of the wounds which I have received in these hot services." On 15 June 1667 Worthington writes to More: "I am

glad that the rub is taken out of the way about your *Enchiridion*." It actually appeared in that year, and it is, as it professes to be, a manual of ethics, which, as Dr. Tulloch notes, could not in any way clash with Cudworth's work, for Cudworth was occupied with a special subject—the essence and origin of morality. On 8 January 166$\frac{7}{8}$ Worthington tells More that before Christmas he "wrote a plain earnest letter to Dr. Cudworth about his discourse against Hobbes in part (of which he may see that there is need) or that upon Daniel, offering my service to ease him of the trouble that is needfull to fit such MSS. for the press. But I received no answere." Neither was ever published.

One pities Worthington between his two friends.

The relation of the Cambridge Platonists to their time has been pointed out clearly and well by Dr. Tulloch (vol. ii., pp. 1-44). Puritan dogmatism produced the natural reaction: and just as somewhat earlier Hales and Chillingworth had urged a wider comprehension and a broader Church, so Whichcote, Smith, Cudworth, More, and their fellow-writers now aimed at a wider theology and deeper personal religion. "They sought to marry philosophy to religion, and to confirm the union on the indestructible basis of reason and the essential elements of our higher humanity. This was their special ambition: and it was a grand ambition, whatever we may think of its success." The direction of their work, however, was given by the new scientific spirit, especially by the writings of Descartes and, to some extent, of Bacon. More's letters to Descartes in the middle of the century are a sign that the Cartesian philosophy had already obtained a footing in Cambridge. Without being pupils of Descartes they worked under

the same force. "Both sought to ground the highest truth on a clear immutable basis of reason: Descartes working toward this end from the philosophical, Cudworth and More from the theological side. . . . They were in hearty affinity with the new study of nature and all other forward tendencies of the time, although their own speculative impulse came from a different quarter and followed a different method" (*ib.*, pp. 18 and 24). That source was Plato and the Neoplatonists of Alexandria. Cudworth's *Eternal and Immutable Morality* reads for pages together like a commentary on the *Theaetetus:* and the *Intellectual system* at first sight suggests an encyclopædia of Greek philosophy and mythology; indeed, they have thereby an air of remoteness from modern thought equally striking with the modernness of the Sermon.* It was to Platonism that this school as a whole fled as to a force able to combat "the development of naturalism in a direction which threatened the distinctive principles of religion and the Church. Bacon had made natural science the basis of all other science. All real knowledge, according to him, came from the investigation and classification of outward facts. Hobbes took up the method and applied it to the study, not of nature, but of society, and the whole moral and spiritual order in which man finds himself here." And it was against Hobbes that Cudworth is constantly arguing. Hobbes maintained that the truths of religion can only be defined by the supreme authority

* Martineau, *Types of Ethical Theory*, ii. 427-458, in which he takes Cudworth as the most important type of the school, assigns to his ethical speculation a higher position. "Cudworth's thought gives evidence of its originality and independence by its freedom from all the strong pressures of the time" (p. 451). But it was certainly based on Plato, if not on the Platonists.

"residing in the Sovereign who only has the legislative power": and his influence on contemporary thought was great: so it seemed to Cudworth and More; who, Dr. Tulloch says, are only to be understood in the light of Hobbes's theories:

"The Platonic background of their speculations only comes into full prominence against the atomistic materialism which they believed it to be the essential aim of his writings to propagate. It was the special merit of the school that they were able to meet this materialistic tendency, not merely, as some others, by polemical criticism and clever exposure, but by a well-ordered scheme of thought, whose principles had been already worked into unison with Christian philosophy. This was the glory of the school; it was also its weakness. It gave a systematic and elaborate plan to their arguments; but it tempted them also not unfrequently to substitute mere learning for reasoning, and to call in ancient verdicts instead of working out difficulties by their own enkindled and living thoughtfulness."

The result was, as Dr. Whewell pointed out,* that Cudworth's erudition weakened rather than enforced the effect of his arguments by making his dialect strange and his proofs suspected to the audience which he addressed. The age, in fact, was impatient of authority, and looked forward to fresh discoveries rather than to past opinions. It had cast off the domination of Aristotle, established for centuries. It was not likely to begin to bow the knee to Plato. Hobbes and Locke, following in widely different ways in the steps of Bacon, have had an influence on later

* *Lectures on Moral Philosophy*, p. 88.

thought altogether disproportionate to that of Cudworth and More.

That the school should nevertheless have been influential and yet unpopular is at first sight surprising. More's *Enchiridion* went through three editions in three years—1667-8-9—and two more before the end of the century. The *Divine Dialogues* were also much read. But we may suspect exaggeration in the statement of the bookseller, Mr. Chiswell (Ward, *Life*, 162), that for twenty years after the Restoration "the *Mystery of Godliness* and Dr. More's other works ruled all the booksellers in London." Ward himself says that More's writings were not generally known, even by scholars (*ib.*, p. 75): here he doubtless means the *Conj. Cabbalistica* and the like, not those above mentioned. However, lack of knowledge seems to have been consistent with notoriety. "I can come into no company of late," says a contemporary writer,* "but I find the chief discourse to be about a certain new sect of men called Latitude-men; but though the name be in every man's mouth, yet the explicit meaning of it or the heresy which they hold are as unknown (for aught I can learn) as the sect of the Rosicrucians." No doubt their matter was too difficult for the unlearned, and too ponderous for the wits and courtiers of the day; but it was plain that they were tolerant of difference in theological theory: they were therefore held to be speculatively "atheists, deists or at best Socinians," or (in their common nickname) Latitudinarians, and enemies of Church and State. Widdrington charges Cudworth with preferring certain disaffected Fellows on "the dear old plea for liberty of conscience, and for

* Pamphlet by S. P., quoted by Tulloch, ii. 36.

allowing every conceited fellow to follow the light within" (A. Wall, 48, 14*b*). The further charge, that "they were people whose only religion it is to temporize and transform themselves into any shape for their secular interests," could certainly be brought against Whichcote, Worthington, and Cudworth with some plausibility. Their unlucky effusions in 1658 and in 1660 (in the σῶστρα on the Restoration) showed them to be equally appreciative of the merits of Cromwell and of Charles II.: while More, though less demonstrative, was equally content under each régime.* But their attitude was natural enough. All of them were Puritan by temper and education; all must have regarded with dislike the policy of Charles I. both in Church and State. Yet with dominant Puritanism they could have little sympathy: they had nothing in common with dogmatic Presbyterianism; and though doubtless attracted by the tolerance of Cromwell, they must have revolted against Independency developed into military despotism, and naturally accepted the promise of liberty of conscience which Charles II. made, and would probably have performed if allowed to do so by his less latitudinarian Parliament. That they viewed with satisfaction the results of the Restoration cannot be imagined: but they had no opportunity of acquiescing in any further change of government. Cudworth and More survived indeed into the reign of James II. But I think they would have resisted an attack on Christ's like that on Magdalene College, Oxford.

* It is asserted, contrary to Widdrington's statement, that More never took the Covenant; if so, it is some proof of the impression made by his character, that he remained undisturbed in his Fellowship. His anticipations of the good time to come under Charles will be found in the Preface to his *Mystery of Godliness* (1660).

It has been said with some truth that "Cudworth is much less interesting than his writings. More is far more interesting than any of his" (Tulloch, ii. 303). We must except the fascinating sketch of his early life and development.* He lets us see him "in a ground belonging to Eaton College where the boys used to play and exercise themselves . . . walking as my manner was slowly and with my head on one side and kicking now and then the stones with my feet." The thoughts which occupied him were not the ordinary thoughts of the Eton boy of this day, or presumably of that. He would "humm" to himself the well-known lines of Claudian, questioning whether there were any active Ruler of the universe:† or he would dwell on the mysteries of predestination (familiar to him from a Calvinistic home), and one day

"I did thus seriously and deliberately conclude within myself, viz., 'If I am one of those that are predestinated unto Hell where all things are full of nothing but cursing and blasphemy, yet will I behave myself there patiently and submissively towards God; and if there be any one thing more than another that is acceptable to Him, that will I set myself to do with a sincere heart and to the utmost of my power.'"

As a student at Cambridge, he was possessed of an "almost immoderate thirst for knowledge." His tutor, Rob. Gell, doubtful whether he were moved by vain-glory, questioned him one day as to the motive which

* In the Præfatio generalissima prefixed to vol. i. of the folio 3 vol. edition of his *Works* in Latin. The translation is Ward's, in his *Life of Hen. More*.

† "Saepe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem, | curarent Superi terras; an nullus inesset | Rector, et incerto fluerent mortalia casu."

prompted his eagerness. His answer was prompt and short: "That I may know." "But, young man," said Gell, "what is the reason that you so earnestly desire to know things?" To which he instantly returned: "I desire, I say, so earnestly to know, *that I may know*." There was no other answer; knowledge was an end in itself. But the study of "Aristotle, Cardan, Julius Scaliger and other philosophers of the greatest note" ended not with the satisfaction of his desire, but in a scepticism as to the end and purpose of life. After his degree (B.A. 163$\frac{5}{6}$) he turned to the "Platonick writers Marsilius Ficinus, Plotinus himself, Hermes Trismegistus and the Mystical Divines, among whom frequent mention was made of the purification of the soul." Lastly, "that golden little book, the *Theologia Germanica*," taught him "that we should thoroughly put off and extinguish our own proper will, that being thus dead to ourselves we may live alone unto God." This was the secret of the life of unbroken study, meditation, and peace passed for fifty years within the College walls. "When this inordinate desire after the knowledge of things was thus allayed in me, and I aspired after nothing but this sole purity and simplicity of mind, there shone in upon me daily a greater assurance than ever I could have expected even of those things which before I had the greatest desire to know: insomuch that within a few years I was got into a most joyous and lucid state of mind, and such plainly as is ineffable."

This life of blessedness seems to have been undisturbed by civil war, by College disputes, by summons to public work elsewhere, which were alike disregarded. He declined (as Mead before him had done) the Provost-

ship of Trinity College, Dublin, and also the Deanery of Christ's Church, Oxford. Ward says that two Bishoprics were offered him. He was appointed Prebendary of Gloucester 1676, but gave his mind at once (and with success) to find someone to succeed him. It is probable, though there is little authority for the statement, that he might have held Cudworth's place as Master of Christ's in 1654:* but the life of contemplation was too attractive. Ward gives this account of him:

"He was once for ten days together *nowhere* (as he termed it) or in one continual fit of contemplation: during which though he eat drank slept went into the Hall and conversed in a measure as at other times; yet the thread of it for all that space was never once as it were, broken or interrupted: nor did he animadvert (in a sort) on the things which he did. And he hath been heard likewise unaffectedly to profess; that his thoughts would oftentimes be as clear as he could almost desire: and that he could take them off or fix them upon a subject in a manner as he pleased. . . . And elsewhere he speaks more particularly of the exceeding great pleasure of speculation and that easy springing up of coherent thoughts and conceptions within: and how that the lazy activity (as he then calls it) of his mind in compounding and discovering of Notions and Ideas, in the silent observation of their natural connexions and disagreements, was as a Holy Day and Sabbath of rest to his soul. His very dreams were often regular, and he could study in them" (pp. 43, 44).

More defends himself against any charge of "enthusiasm"—*i.e.*, in the dialect of the day, irrationality.

* Ward, p. 61: "He might, as I have heard, have been chosen Master."

"God doth not ride me as a horse and guide me I know not whither myself; but converseth with me as a friend, and speaks to me in such a dialect as I understand fully, and can make others understand, that have not made shipwreck of the faculties that God hath given them, by superstition or sensuality: for with such I cannot converse, because they do not converse with God; but only pity them or am angry with them, as I am merry and pleasant with thee [Philalethes, his imaginary interlocutor]. For God hath permitted to me all these things, and I have them under the Broad Seal of Heaven. Who dare charge me? God doth acquit me." This Divine communion may be the possession of each man that is thoroughly "pure in heart and sound in head." While God "speaks to others aloof off, in outward Religions and Parables; yet He leads this man by the hand, teaching him intelligible documents upon all the objects of His providence." More's whole life was a sermon on the text, "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." Will. Owtram, who was a Fellow with him at Christ's, said he looked on Dr. More as the holiest person upon the face of the earth; adding what is important as showing that he was no mere visionary, that "whenever there was any more than ordinary occasion for the exercise of prudence and virtue he never knew Dr. More to fail" (Ward, p. 79). He spent his income, superabundant for his needs, judiciously on worthy objects. He was cheerful in all his conversation: he must have had humour, for he called the College small beer—his constant drink—"seraphical": as to the use of wine, he seems to have had some scruple, and once abstained for a year; "but, it being what he had been accustomed to at times, he

found it not to do so well with him, and so returned to the drinking of it again." He dined regularly in Hall, except on Fridays, for, as fish did not agree with him, he chose rather to dine on something else in his own chamber; and as fasting during Lent "quite altered the tone of his body," he forbore to fast after one or two trials (*ib.*, p. 94).

The *Divine Dialogues* are the work of More to which reference is nowadays oftenest made: though it may be doubted whether they are much read, or, indeed, deserve to be. There is little reality about the interlocutors, Philotheus, Bathynous, Sophron, etc., whose names explain their character more clearly than their remarks. More seems incapable of drawing even the opponents of truth with as much suggestion of badness as Plato does. Hylobares, the "young witty and well moralized materialist," may suggest Hobbes by his name, but not by his polemic; he is much too "well-moralized," for he gives way at once to the least-convincing argument of Philotheus. Euistor, the "man of Criticism, Philologie and History," shows an unvarying candour not always promoted by those sciences; and even Cuphophron (*κουφόφρων* in disguise), who is the "zealous but airie-minded Platonist and Cartesian or Mechanist" —the dialogues were published 1668, when More's admiration for Descartes had dwindled*—propounds not very startling doctrines with a willingness to laugh at them himself, and shows no addiction to vice further than by tempting his grave interlocutors (who all succumb) to take each a single cup of wine at the end of some hours' conversation. The style is somewhat

* See the curious preface to vol. i., called "The Publisher to the Reader," but apparently written by More himself

monotonous; and the attack is not sufficient to give interest to the defence.

More solid food may be extracted from the *Mystery of Godliness*, the only other work on which I propose to comment. It was published in 1660, when his writing was perhaps at its best, and its success with the public of the day has been already mentioned. Some of it may still be read with admiration. The title is borrowed from the first Epistle to Timothy (iii. 16): "Great is the mystery of Godliness: God was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory." It is a demonstration of the truth and excellence of Christianity as conformable to the highest reason of man; with occasional excursuses against atheists, enthusiasts, Quakers, and the like; it deals fully with the beliefs of paganism, which More sees to need explanation. The stories of the gods and others, on which they rest, he does not in general deny, but explains as the workings of the kingdom of the devil. This part of the book is filled, but not overloaded, with all the learning of the day. We may smile at the argument that the ceremonies of witches prove the existence of devils—*i.e.*, fallen angels (p. 34, ed. 1660)—and that the existence of devils proves the existence of good angels; but the belief in witchcraft was current, and held as fully by all Platonists as by their contemporaries. Hobbes has the credit of disbelief. But if More did not precede his generation in this matter, at least his sober and truly Christian spirit in dealing with indifferent matters under dispute is not always to be found in the nineteenth century; and the chapter on public worship which concludes the book

(p. 534) explains the unpopularity occasioned by views so far in advance of the time. Thus, for example, he would have none so captious as to take offence at kneeling in the Holy Communion "in devotion to God and humble thankfulness"; nor yet at sitting, "as it is the celebration of a supper," if any would thereby cleanse himself of the suspicion of idolatry. Uniformity, he admits, would "look better in outward show . . . yet the real exercise of our charity in leaving everyone free is every whit as suitable to this solemn performance as the most exquisite uniformity if devoid of the spirit of meekness and mutual forbearance." The use of the sign of the Cross in baptism is judged in the same temper, with the note that "the constant profession of an Indifferency may sooner make the Church uniform than the placing Religion in these things: for contestation ceaseth when the object is judged of little value." The observance of holy days is most desirable for "their vacation from worldly drudgery." Touching music in churches, he judges hymns and songs "the timeliest piece of public worship offered to Christ"; nor should we confine ourselves to the Psalms of David; rather, hymns should be taught to children betimes, "that there might be no need of the unsanctified throats of mere mercenaries to fill up the Quire, but that all musical devotions might be performed by the whole congregation." The help of an organ should be added, that there may be wanting none of the "comely circumstances of that public worship that is fit to be practised by professed Christians, unless you would bring in also Images and Pictures." The bowing to images, he continues, is "intolerable, if Pagan idolatry be so." To pictures he is more lenient, nor would he disallow "the

conceit of the devotional lovers of the Person of our Lord that if there were a representation of His crucifixion in picture, and they bowed to it at their coming into the church, it were but an innocent satisfaction to themselves so publicly to do their homage to their Saviour in that representation that He is most scorned and reproached in." But he would that each picture should have its proper inscription—*e.g.*, on the Resurrection, "If you be risen with Christ, seek those things that are above." This sets a man's mind awork, and makes him think of the meaning of the chief passages of our Lord's life, "of which none are more effectual than that of His Passion, which together with the Passion songs and Tunes and Organs may wound the heart of a man and let out more corrupt blood at one touch than the faint hackings of a dry discourse of an hour or two long." Yet, if any should be "so weak or scrupulous" as to take offence at this usage, we are bound to remove stumbling-blocks out of their way rather than let "any such dispensable Punctilios hinder the advance of Christ's kingdom."

There is an interesting MS. collection of letters* written to More by his sometimes unknown admirers, which suggest that he may have suffered from his correspondents. Several are from one Edmund Elys, a priest, who writes from East Allington, near Dartmouth, and tells More that he is incapable of oral disputation, not because his heart is apt to be inflamed with anger, but because of the inevitable excessive quickness and agility of his spirits. He asks More to write to him three or four letters a year, and promises many more in return. He reports (unnecessarily) that the Bishop of Exeter

* Now in the possession of Canon Armitage Robinson.

dislikes the *Mystery of Godliness*, but that he seems to be little versed in More's writings—probably a common case.

But the most interesting of the series are some nine letters from Anne, Lady Conway, the daughter of Heneage Finch, second Lord Nottingham, by his second marriage; they run from 1651 to 1664, and are dated first from London, then from Dublin (where Lord Conway was employed), not from Ragley, where More so often passed his holidays. They give a clear idea of a very attractive character; the long, elaborately-constructed sentences are full of good sense and affection: queries on the most abstruse metaphysical problems and requests for writings of Descartes are mixed up with references to College matters in which More is interested; with her brother John's journeys to and from the East; her own suffering from headaches, which seems to have been incessant, but endured with great fortitude;* and the death of her child in 1660. At Dublin in 1662 she has plenty of company, "yet in the midst of all that I must still account myself very unhappy, because I must want what I most prize, which is your excellent converse, to which the next best thing I know is solitude." She wrote much, and one book, *The Principles of the most Ancient and Modern Philosophy*, published after her death in Latin at Amsterdam, was retranslated and published in England in 1692. She died in 1679 a Quaker, in spite of More's strong influence upon her.

* She went to Paris to have the cranium opened in the hope of relief; but the doctors there declined to do more than make incisions in the jugular veins. (See life in *D.N.B.*) "Upon which her faithful friend (More) advised her to betake herself wholly to God and to make that noble experiment whether the consummate health of her soul would not recover also in due time the health of her body."

Lady Conway's brother, John Finch, a name familiar to every Christ's man, together with that of Tho. Baines, as joint founders of two additional Fellowships and three Scholarships, was first entered at Christ's 11 April 1645 under Joh. Potts, who was, however, ejected from his Fellowship about that time. For some unknown reason young Finch went to Balliol, Oxford, in the same year, and became B.A. there 22 May 1647. He then returned to Cambridge, matriculated in the same year, and may have been More's pupil, as he is commonly described. We may judge from his admission under Potts that More was not at that time known to his family. He was M.A. 1649. In 1651 he went abroad; Mr. Baines was his companion, as appears from a very interesting letter to his sister 2 April 1652 from Lyons, in which he describes his adventures between Paris and Lyons with soldiers and robbers; he was eventually robbed of everything.* In the same letter he says: "I sent you 3 of Descartes' 'Principles' by Mr. Ayres, and hope you have sent 2 to Cambridge and bound up the 3rd for yourself. There was another MS. which will do you no harm to peruse . . . if you are in your Mathematicks. I send Copernicus' 'System of the World,' but it may not be worth the price of the paper." In August 1653 he set out again, and settled at Padua, where he studied medicine, and became M.D. 1660, and held the post of syndic of the University.† He was for

* In *Cal. Dom. Papers*, 1651-52, pp. 305-309, the letter is given in full.

† "The University of Padua is governed by two syndics annually chosen by the votes of scholars: one is of the lawyers and other artists, and the other of the physicians. Mr. Finch, an Englishman, was syndic at my being there" (Reresby's *Memoirs*, p. 60).

a time Professor at Pisa, and Worthington speaks of him as having been "furnished with all things convenient for the making experiments in the way of physick by the Duke of Florence." In 1660 he returned to England, was knighted on 10 June 1661, was made F.R.C.P (extraordinary), and incorporated M.D. at Cambridge. In 1665 he was sent to the Court of Tuscany, where he was a *persona grata*. In 1672 he became ambassador to Constantinople, having with him Sir Tho. Baines as physician to the embassy, and Dr. Covel, chaplain (1670-79) to the Levant Company.

In 1680 Sir Thomas Baines died at Constantinople. Sir John Finch had his body embalmed, and sent home to be buried in the College Chapel. Early in 1682 he returned to England, and visited Cambridge. Great preparations had been made at the College to receive him. The "Foundress's Chamber" was made almost new: the windows and chimney were reconstructed by Grumbold for £9 19^{s} 6^{d}, and one end of the room wainscoted by Austin for £14 12^{s}; this work remains to the present day, as also an inventory of the new bedroom furniture. On his arrival he was met by the Fellows and scholars in coaches and on horseback at Trumpington, and men were drawn up at the College gate. The dinner cost £16 17^{s} 3^{d}, and the wine at the dinner £2 11^{s} 6^{d}. Doubtless during the visit some arrangements were made by him for the tomb of his friend in the Chapel. He was soon to join him there. In the same year, on November 14, he died suddenly in London of pleurisy. A sad parody of the cost of his reception appears in the very next Audit, when £2 17^{s} is put down for "charges at Trumpington when the coaches met Sir J. Finch his corps"; "eleven gentlemen's

coaches £2 17s"; "Mr Waterhouse 8 of his pupils going to Trumpington 12s"; "horse hire for 6 of Mr Lynford's pupils 9s."

On his visit to Cambridge, Sir John made known his intention of giving to the College £4,000, as the benefaction of himself and of Sir Tho. Baines, to purchase £220 per annum of fee farm rents, so that £50 thereof should be for an augmentation of the Mastership, £120 for the founding of two new Fellowships, £24 for the founding of new scholarships, and the remaining £26 for the Dead College. Sir John supposed that the value of an original Fellowship was then not more than £50 a year; so the incorporation of his two Fellows would have slightly benefited the members of the old foundation; but on understanding that on a computation of fines for renewal of leases during seven years the average value of an existing Fellowship was more than £60, he agreed, after some negotiation, to form a separate foundation; which remained separate till 1860. The new Fellows were more free than the old in many particulars. They were not limited to any county; they were not required to take Holy Orders, but might "profess Physick, Law, or Divinity"; if in Orders, they might hold with their Fellowship any preferment under £50 a year ("extended value," not as in the Liber Regis). The "professors of Law and Physic" might travel out of the kingdom for three years—a wise permission, doubtless suggested by the experience of the two friends at Padua; for a longer or a second absence the permission of the College was required. In England they were subject to the same conditions of residence as the older Fellows. Anyone of Founder's kin was to be preferred "if well qualified with learning and manners."

Sir John reserved to himself the nomination of the first Fellows and scholars; afterwards it was to rest with the College. But in a schedule drawn up after his death the right to nominate for life was given to his nephew, Daniel, Earl of Nottingham, who by an order of 4 December 1682* was to select in the College Chapel the place for the great monument which now stands there.

In the course of his long life (1647-1730) the Earl of Nottingham had the happiness of nominating seven F. and B. Fellows: and among them were two of his brothers and two of his sons. The first two were Henry Finch, younger brother of the Earl, afterwards Dean of York, who left to the College at his death in 1728 £100 to beautify the Hall and £200 to purchase a living; and Tho. Lovett, who had been Henry's tutor, and now exchanged a Foundation Fellowship for the new one, probably in order to enable him to hold better preferment; he was appointed to a prebend of Ely by the cession of his grateful pupil, and held it from 1692 till his death in 1698. Henry Finch resigned his Fellowship in 1692 in favour of his younger brother Robert, who died in 1696, and was succeeded by Richard Palmer, who held the Fellowship till his death in 1713, when he was buried in the ante-chapel. Lovett was succeeded by Tho. Hobart, M.D. 1700, chiefly noteworthy for having repeated leave from the Society for three years' travel abroad in charge of relatives of the Earl and others. Palmer had as successor Henry Finch, son of the Earl, who held his Fellowship, in spite of an attempt at ejectment by the Master, Dr. Towers, till 1749, when he resigned. In 1728 Earl Daniel made his last nomination, in succession to Dr. Hobart, whose travels were ended by

* The first existing Order-book begins in 1680.

death—that of his younger son Edward, M.A. Trinity 1718, M.P. for the University in 1727, and in every Parliament down to 1764, and one of the founders of the "Members' Prizes"; afterwards called Finch-Hatton; who resigned his Fellowship in 1746, and was succeeded by Ri. Parkinson, a Lancashire man, who seems not to have been of Finch blood. Edward Finch-Hatton's two sons, George and John Emilius Daniel, were educated at the College, and the latter held a F. and B. Fellowship from 1778 till 1804, when he resigned. George's sons were here in the present century: Geo. Will., afterwards ninth Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham (by failure of the elder branch of the family), and Daniel Heneage, who was F. and B. scholar in 1815. With these the connection between the College and the Finches ceases; it is a curious history of family patronage. Of the family of Baines I know one beneficiary: Robert Baines was a scholar in 1767.

Two gifts of this period have been lost. One was from Joh. Brown, of Middlesex, in 1662, for the support of three boys from Christ's Hospital. The other was in 1679 from Will. Austin, a former pupil of Hen. More; it was £15 paid annually from the exchequer, and it was paid in 1682 to "three poor scholars"; after 1683 it disappears.

A considerable gift was received in 1681 from Dr. Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury 1667-89, viz., a farm at Wimbish, near Saffron Walden, then producing £50 a year, and fee farm rents in Kent, estimated to bring in £20 more. Four scholars were to have £12 a year each; these were to be educated at Buntingford School, and in default of such, after the schools of Stortford, Hitchin, Ware, and Hertford had been searched for

candidates, the Society might elect whom they pleased; they generally did so. The surplus was to be divided between the College and the Master of Buntingford, whose receipt varied much from the first, the rents of Wimbish being constantly in arrear. In 1877 the College purchased his right for £1,000.

There is evidence to show that after the Restoration there was a regular series of mandates from the King for election of Fellows. Sometimes there were more than one for the same vacancy; they were written at the request of friends of the candidates who had influence at the Court, and Charles doubtless forgot them as soon as they were signed. Cudworth, writing 17 August 1662 to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, says that, having had two recommendations from the King, they have chosen the person (Hen. Hallewell) who was of the College and eligible by statute, the other being a stranger, probably Tho. Smoult, of St. John's, who is twice recommended (*Cal. Dom. Papers*, 1661-62, p. 462). Cudworth continues that they have obeyed three letters for Fellowships, but they hope that such persons only will be recommended as are devoted to the Church and agreeable to the statutes. A little later (11 September) he says (*ib.*, p. 484) that they will occasionally recommend persons fit for preferment in the College, that others ill qualified may not obtain letters recommendatory and exclude them. This recognises the habitual interference of the Crown at elections, even when it was against the statutes; and, indeed, it is not likely that in those days the College would formally protest against it; the utmost they hoped to do was to ensure the nomination of the men of their own choice. Thus, on 16 January 166$\frac{6}{7}$ Cudworth writes to recommend Tho. Lovett, B.A.,

as "conformable to the Church, of eminent parts and much improved in his studies"; on 19 January occurs the King's "recommendation" of Lovett. But the College had the courage at times to reject unfit candidates—*e.g.*, in 1666 Cha. Fanshawe, M.A., son of Sir Ri. Fanshawe, though recommended for his "loyalty and learning"; on which occasion Cudworth pathetically states that "since the Restoration this little College has received and obeyed ten Royal letters, and even received a manciple imposed by letter [Ja. Cookson, B.A. of the College, who held his office from 1665 till his death in 1669], though it was a thing never known before." Sometimes a candidate recommended by the King and agreeable to the College was not elected—*e.g.*, in 1662 Henry Ullock, B.A. 1661, a man of ability, and afterwards Dean of Rochester; this was probably due to another more pressing "recommendation." An appeal of Rob. Bevin, a Fellow in 1688, gives a list of ten Fellows (out of a total of fourteen elected between 1669 and 1687) as imposed by mandate; these are additional to the cases mentioned by Cudworth.

A few of the Fellows in Cudworth's time are interesting. One was Tho. Burnet, a Clare man who migrated to Christ's in 1655, probably as a protégé of Cudworth. He was Fellow of Christ's 1657-78, but he seems not to have resided after 1670, probably having special leave to travel. His most important work was *Telluris Theoria Sacra.* The earth, he said, was like an egg whose shell was crushed at the Deluge, when the waters inside the egg burst out, and the fragments of the shell became mountain-chains. He is known by his opposition as Master of the Charterhouse to the intrusion of a Papist by James II. William III.

made him Clerk of the Closet, a post which he had to resign on the score of heterodoxy. He had ventured to give a non-literal interpretation of part of the Book of Genesis. Tho. Standish has been already mentioned, the common friend of Cudworth and of More. He survived them both for a quarter of a century, and died in College in 1714, after being a Fellow for sixty-one years. His name appears on a stone in the antechapel. He left his books (which were valuable) to the College. Hen. Hallewell, Fellow 1662-67, when he succeeded his father as Vicar of Ifield in Essex, was the author of *Deus Justificatus*, which was attributed to Cudworth, and was highly approved by Worthington.* "He will write better and better," is Worthington's comment. Thomas Lynford, Fellow 1675-86, will occur later. Joh. Isham (1682-86) was the third son of Sir Justinian of Lamport. He was Under-Secretary of State when Lord Nottingham was in office, and had much to do with the settlement of estates in Ireland. Many of his letters are preserved at Lamport. He died in 1746. Joh. Luke, 1683-85, was D.D. when elected. He had been a member of Sidney, and was Professor of Arabic 1685-1702. A man who might have done much had he lived longer was Dan. Duckfield (1688-1702), when he died, aged thirty-five. He was grandson of Joh. Lightfoot, and some letters between him and Strype on the publication of Clark's translation of the Targum on the Chronicles are contained in Strype's correspondence in the University library (see *Catalogue*, vol. v., p. 147). He had fifty-two pupils—almost the whole College—when he died.

Among miscellaneous charges may be mentioned that

* See Crossley's note at ii. 282, of Worthington's *Diary*.

for "hearth-money," or, as it is called later, "chimney-money," a tax imposed early in the reign of Charles II. I find it first in 1663 (£1 8^{s}). The amount varies.

Interest on loans, generally of £100 raised for a short period, occurs pretty often. It is always 6 per cent.

In 1660 two guineas were paid to the Vice-Chancellor toward Aberdeen New College. Cambridge gave in all forty marks, about half what Oxford gave (£53 9^{s} 3^{d}). Eton gave £185! (*Fasti Acad. Marisc. Aberd.*, vol. i., p. 304.)

A passage in Cooper's *Annals* (iii. 573) shows that the College was regarded as having some rights over Christ's Piece. It is an order issued by Isaac Barrow, Vice-Chancellor, on 10 August 1677 forbidding the meeting of scholars under the degree of M.A. from several Colleges on "Christ College Green," under pretence of "exercising," whence divers disorders have arisen. But this prohibition does not extend to the scholars of Christ's College, provided they do not join in or abet such disorder.

In 1681 it was ordered that everyone admitted into Fellows' Commons should pay £1 to the Orchard, and should buy a pair of bowls, a rule which survived past the middle of the present century. In 1686 payment for the Orchard and for keeping the grass-plots in the Courts in order was levied quarterly on each member of the College, a Fellow paying 2^{s} 6^{d}, a scholar or pensioner 1^{s}, and a sizar 6^{d}. The money was to be collected by the manciple, paid to the Senior Dean, and disbursed by him.

On 7 June 1681 there is a College order that "a peece of plate about 10^{lb}" be presented to "the Christ

College gentlemen about Newcastle." Who the gentlemen were does not appear, but the connection of the College with Northumberland was always very strong.*

* To Northumberland belonged the family which was connected with the College for a longer time than any other known to me: that of Loraine, originally Lorran, of Kirkharle. It had representatives here through seven generations save one (the third), beginning with Thomas, b. 1615, a pupil of Mead, a great scholar and a great Royalist in the North, whose son, Sir Tho., the first Baronet, was alive in 1681, and ending with Sir Will. Loraine, who died 1849 at Elsinore. I have to thank Rear-Admiral Lambton Loraine for much information of great interest.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Masters: John Covel, 1688-1722; William Towers, 1723-45; George Henry Rooke, 1745-54; Hugh Thomas, 1754-80; John Barker, 1780-1808; Thomas Browne, 1808-14

On the death of Dr. Cudworth, 26 June 1688, Joh. Covel was elected Master. He was at the time Rector of Kegworth. Alderman Newton says in his *Diary* that the King sent a mandate to Cambridge for his election. Cole "heard of a mandate," which Newton also mentions (p. 95), in favour of Chas. Smithson, then Rector of Toft. Covel had resided as a Fellow till 1670, when he was appointed Chaplain to the Levant Company, and remained in Turkey till 1677. He kept a voluminous diary, part of which was published in 1893 by the Hakluyt Society. It gives a very interesting account of his sojourn at Constantinople, and of his visit to Adrianople, whither he went with Sir Joh. Finch, the English Ambassador. The capitulations of 1676, obtained by Sir John, placed the Company on a firm basis. Covel returned home through Italy, visiting Venice and several other towns, and reached England in

1679. After a short stay at Cambridge, during which he was appointed to Kegworth, he lived in Holland for four years as Chaplain to the Princess of Orange. It is said that in some letter to England he charged the Prince with unkindness to his wife: and he returned to England suddenly. In 1689, when he was Vice-Chancellor, and William III. was about to visit Cambridge, he was in some perplexity. The King characteristically sent him word that he could "distinguish between Dr. Covel and the V.C. of the University." Covel was fifty years old when he became Master, and he ruled the College for thirty-four years. He died still full of work, both as bursar and as scholar. His chief book—the *Account of the Present Greek Church*—which had occupied his attention while he was in the East, appeared in the year of his death. His diary shows a genuine interest in the people, customs, and natural history of every place which he visited. He had studied physic before he took Orders, and he was no mean botanist. Cole, who presented to the College a good portrait of him by Val. Ritz (a German painter established for many years at Cambridge), calls him "a jolly well-looking man of an open countenance." He was twice Vice-Chancellor. His business habits are attested by his accounts, and by numerous MSS. relating to College matters. He was in no wise a politician. He was one of the electors—in the minority—at the most amusing of Dr. Bentley's devilries, the election of himself to the Regius Professorship of Divinity (Monk's *Life*, ii. 11-16). His scholarly tastes are shown by the regularity with which books were purchased for the Library during his Mastership, and his good temper by the unusual absence of dissension in the Society.

He had much trouble for many years caused by a handsome legacy. Ra. Widdrington, who died in his rooms—the present Combination Room—only sixteen days before his old opponent Cudworth, left his estate to the College after the death of three kinsmen, who were also executors of his will. The estimated value was £6,000. The will was contested, and after more than twenty years the College got £1,146 11^{s} 7^{d}, half the sum which the Court of Chancery had awarded them several years before: and £250 of this came in the shape of a lease of a property called Stone Hostel, belonging to St. John's College, apparently nine houses situate between the corner of Bridge Street and St. John's Lane, now demolished. It had been let to one John Gilbert, who, being impecunious, and at last an inhabitant of the Fleet Prison, had mortgaged it to Dr. Widdrington. The houses were completely out of repair: and after Gilbert, with much trouble and expense, had been ejected, £660 or more had to be spent in rebuilding them. The lease was renewed to the College by St. John's from time to time, till in 1800 it was sold for £770 to Miss Susan Wentworth.

The College purchased for £910 an estate called Delphs, in the parish of Haddenham. Of this sum, £700 was regarded as Dr. Widdrington's legacy; while £200 was a legacy left by Mr. William Petyt, formerly of Christ's, Treasurer of the Inner Temple, and Keeper of the Records in the Tower, for the maintenance of poor scholars, with preference to boys from Skipton School.* Dr. Widdrington's legacy was also to be spent on

* An annual rent charge of £20 for the same object was left in 1719 by Sylvester Petyt, brother of William, Master of Barnard's Inn, whose portrait, painted by Ri. Van Bleeck, is in the National Portrait Gallery.

scholars: but the provisions of the will were as eccentric as his life. The Master and the four senior Lady Margaret Fellows were to elect four scholars on that foundation as recipients of an additional £5 a year each, the scholars to be those best grounded in Greek and Latin in the judgment of the Lady Margaret Professor and the Public Orator. The same four Fellows were to receive annually £10 each to mend their commons in Hall: and £2 more each year was to be spent for the suitable entertainment of the Professor and Orator when they came to approve the election. Further payments were to be made annually to Morpeth School (where he was educated) and to Stamfordham poor. The income from the beginning was insufficient to bear these charges: and in 1860 one scholarship was established on the foundation of Dr. Widdrington.

Two other legacies were received about the same time. The first came in 1692 from Tho. Otway, Bishop of Ossory, for three exhibitioners from Kirby Lonsdale or from Sedbergh; £500 so received was invested in the purchase of thirty acres at Armshold. The proceeds since 1860 have been given to one exhibitioner. The second was smaller: Tho. Plume, Archdeacon of Rochester, and founder of the Plumian Professorship, left in 1704 £100 for an exhibition for a scholar educated (1) at Maldon, (2) at Chelmsford, (3) in any part of Essex. The preference was abolished in 1860. The College had to pay £23 18^{s} to get the £100 out of Chancery, and as it was pledged to pay £6 annually to the exhibitioner, it did not make a good bargain.

A tedious lawsuit (1705-12) about the Kirby Lonsdale property, in which the College was successful at a cost of £222, was concurrent with the Widdrington and Gilbert proceedings. Dr. Covel was constantly at

London, and the items of the costs are given by him with much curious detail. I have printed them at length in the College magazine (Michaelmas, 1890). The following may be given here, to show how accounts may be made amusing. The first refers to the difficulty of getting the Master of Charterhouse, a witness, to the Court in time:

"June 5. Coach hire to D^r. Burnet at 7 a clock and stay, 2^s; to his man 1^s, to his maid 1^s, to his coachman 1^s: for I had much to do to get him out to our Tryal which was to come on that morning at 9: had I not bestir'd myself, and moved every wheel by the peny, he would never have been there in time; he would go in his own Coach, he wanted his Breakfast, etc.; all which difficultyes I at last got over."	00. 05. 0.

* * * * *

"For my and my mans Washing our cloaths, nine times, £1 0^s 6^d: to the servants where I lodged £1 10^s 0^d. Paying nothing for my lodging I could do no lesse than be generous to the servants.	02. 10. 0.
I had the Gout May 11 and was not free from it in three weeks, so that in transacting all affaires when I could go abroad, my coach hire to M^r. Plume at the Exchange, at Westminster Hall where I was very oft: in Chancery Lane: the Temple where I was forced to be almost every day sometimes twice sometimes thrice, and elsewhere purely upon Coll. businesse, I spent at leest fourty shillings	02. 00. 0.

Hard work for a man of seventy-three!

Dr. Covel was the chief mover in the extensive changes in the College Chapel in 1702-3—"rebeautifying the Chappell," as he called it. The inner and outer chapel and the vestry were wainscoted by John Austin: the carving was done by Fra. Woodward. The ceiling was (unfortunately) plastered, though the rafters which have just been laid bare (1899) by the removal of the plaster are still in excellent condition; and the floor was paved with black and white marble. The oak wainscot, though plain, is of excellent material and design: its erection, however, covered up the openings into the side-chapels on the north, which must have given a distinctive character to the building. The cost was £1,340 16^{s} 4½^{d}, as appears from a full statement by Dr. Covel at the end of the Michaelmas accounts, 1702. The wainscot cost £639 13^{s} 5^{d}: and Grumbold, the mason, received in all £196, of which the cost of the floor must have been the largest item; but it contains also, I imagine, the cost of stripping the windows of all their tracery: probably it was intended to put stained glass into them; which was never done. The mullions were found (1899) lying on their sides one above another in the window between the chapel and the prayer-room, which was thus abolished: the carpenter received £22 14^{s} 9^{d} for "work done in the prayer-room." There was a bill of £51 14^{s} for "painting and gilding" in the chapel. There is an item for "leading at the head of the stone stayers, where the Hovel was pulled down," meaning perhaps a niche for an image (see Murray, *s.v.*). The work was first contemplated in 1701, when there is an order for melting down £200 worth of plate toward the expense. The list of plate so sacrificed survives. The weight of the

From a photograph by] THE CHAPEL [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

Plate V

"plates," as they are called, nearly all cups or tankards, is 838 ounces. I regret to say that the first is "Henry Burrel's cup," the property of the Rhetorick Lecturer, who was beginning to be regarded as superfluous, and was very irregularly appointed. The rest of the money was to be raised by subscription, and £678 19^{s} 11^{d} was raised in this way. Covel himself gave £100, but not one of the Fellows appears in the list of the subscribers. There are a few former Fellows: Joh. Isham, who gave £50; Dr. Burnet and Joh. Broughton, who gave ten guineas each; Dr. Thos. Thurstan, who had been in Fellows Commons for many years, but migrated to Caius about this time, gave £30; and among other old members of the College are Archdeacon Plume; Sir Ri. Temple, soldier and politician (afterwards first Viscount Cobham); Evelyn Pierrepont, fifth Earl of Kingston (afterwards Duke, and Lord President of the Council), a stanch Whig, "intirely in the interest of his country," as described by Macky (see *D.N.B.*); Sir Joh. Holland; Sir Fra. Molyneux, of Teversal, Notts; Sir Hen. Bellasis, of Potto, Yorks; Sir Tho. Hussey, of Doddington, Lincs; Ri. Bulkley (afterwards fourth Viscount Bulkley of Cashel); Cha., fourth Viscount Fanshawe of Dromore (whom the College had declined as a Fellow in 1666); Sir Dudley Cullum, of Halsted (in memory of his brother Thomas, once Fellow Commoner here, who died 1700); Sir Joh. Willis, of Ditton; and others. Some of the donors, not members of the College, were doubtless moved by friendship for Covel. One of these was "Mr. Isaack Newton, Maister of the Mint, 10 guineas"; also Mr. Will. Fawkner, son of the Treasurer, of the Turkey Company; Mr. Will. Willis, "a worthy merchant in London." In addition to the subscriptions,

a legacy of £300 from the Rev. Ri. Crosse, B.A. 164⅞, Rector of Baginton, Warwick, came in conveniently; and the "income" of chambers (or part of such income) of Mr. Lovett, and of Robert Finch, who died 1696, was also used. Some of the subscriptions came in later: but eventually £1,309 19^{s} 11^{d} was received, or nearly the required amount. Dr. Covel not only contributed largely, but he bore his own expenses during two visits at London to "take the benevolence of gentlemen formerly of our Coll."; and some years later he increased the height of the tower of the chapel, and "furnished it with a clock and bell."

Another work about this time (to which reference has already been made) was the casing with stone of the front of the great gateway and the front of the College between the gateway and the back gate of the Lodge. This was done at the expense of a former Fellow, Thomas Lynford, already mentioned, Canon of Westminster, and Archdeacon of Barnstaple. The gateway was cased in 1714, the rest in 1715-17.

In 1695 I find the only reference made in the accounts to the acquisition of Little Canfield Rectory—"the overplus of our purchase" of it, £13. It was bought with a legacy left by Dean Honywood, £300; but I do not know the exact sum paid. The same liberal benefactor had in his lifetime bought for £400 and given to the College the advowson of Anstye. In the accounts of 1676 I find: "To Dr. Honywood's man when he brought the Advowson of Anstye, £5."

In 1691 a great improvement was made in the internal economy of the College. One steward was appointed for the year instead of twelve stewards for a month each. Hitherto, the short tenure of the office

tended (as we have seen) to make the steward a cypher as compared with the manciple. But now opportunity was taken of a vacancy caused by the death of James Everard to appoint a manciple who should be strictly a servant, and not the capitalist of the College. He was to be paid £30 a year; all profits were to go to the College; and he was required to give a bond of £50 for the faithful discharge of his office. The College was "to satisfye the scholler that shall be put into the butteryes to set on the cisings"—*i.e.*, the buttery-clerk. The steward received each month from the Master the exact amount he had to disburse: so that there was no longer a running account between him (or the manciple) and the Master. He was paid £25 a year for the work of his office, and had to give a bond of £500 that he would execute it faithfully. Each Fellow was to pay the steward for himself and his pupils regularly under penalties.

A question of some importance was raised in 1695—whether there might be more than six Fellows in the College from the nine northern counties, or whether that were the ultimate limit. At the election of Tho. Sherwill, an Essex man, on 31 October, Rob. Bevin, one of the Fellows, gave in the name of Sir Ward, a northerner, though there were already six. Covel declined to receive it, and Sherwill was elected by eleven votes. Bevin put in a strong protest, and on being requested soon afterwards to withdraw or substantiate it, he appealed to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Eachard. Covel was very active in obtaining evidence as to custom, and there is a large bundle of papers on the point in the "Visitors' Drawer." On 6 January 1695 the Vice-Chancellor decided on the side of Covel.

There are some College orders about this time which are curious in matter or in form, or in both. Thus, on 6 November 1705 "the Schollars to be eased in their detriments* from 1 June to 1 November: we'll think of a Method in the meantime."

16 October 1707.—"No questionist before he has the Grace of the House shall have the privilege of going into the Butteries."

26 March 1709.—"The Vicarage House at Fen Drayton to be put into good repair for the College Curate and his Horse."

8 May 1714.—"No exceedings on any State Holidays for the future." By "exceedings" is meant the sum above the ordinary allowance for commons in Hall which was allowed by the College on great occasions. May 29 and November 5 had long been regular "exceeding" days; also the day of coronation of the reigning Sovereign. But Marlborough had given of late numerous causes for "thanksgivings." In that light "Rammelys" and "Audenard" are duly chronicled, and "forcing the lines"—*i.e.*, the French fortifications between Antwerp and Namur in 1705. So, apparently incredulous of the Peace of Utrecht, they made in the following year a self-denying ordinance.

21 April 1718.—"The dinner-hour altered from eleven to twelve o'clock."

The decline in the number of members of the College (and of the whole University), which began in the last

* Detriments are the same as "decrements" at Oxford—perhaps the true form of the word (see Fowler's *History of Corpus Christi* (1893), p. 354)—necessary charges on members of the Foundation for which no allowance is made in the statutes, which are therefore deducted from the prescribed allowance: *e.g.* a charge for salt, and the like.

years of Cudworth, went on steadily in Covel's time, and became quite extraordinary at the middle of the eighteenth century. Indeed, at that period any observer from outside might have regarded the total disappearance of the University as within measurable distance. In the ten years 1663-72, the average number of admissions at Christ's was 42·6—a number which was not to be reached again for more than two centuries. The rate of decline will appear from the following figures:

Admissions between	*Average.*
1671-1680	36·5
1681-1690	25
1691-1700	18·9
1701-1710	16·75
1711-1720	15·33
1721-1730	10·7
1731-1740	9·8
1741-1750	6·9
1751-1760	7

In the next decade the average was 8·8, and from this point the increase continues till the end of the century, when there is again a great fall.

The diminution in numbers was not compensated by the quality of the Society. In fact, throughout the century (with a few brilliant exceptions) the Fellows waited for their livings, went to them, published an Assize Sermon, sent their sons to the College, and died. The tutors of the College were rarely distinguished in any way; at least, that is now discoverable. After the death of Duckfield in 1702, a learned man and most successful tutor, the first who was remarkable for the

number of his pupils was John Boldero, "honest John Boldero" of an East Anglian rhyme, which does not credit him with acuteness of intellect. He was Rector of Clipston 1713-51, but he succeeded (against the wish of the Society) in residing at Cambridge till 1716, as having been appointed "President," an office not recognised in the Statutes. Tho. Atherton (1710-33), son of Hen. Atherton, M.D., also of Christ's, and author of the *Christian Physician*, once a very popular work, was a good man of business. His "book" contains (besides the Statutes) much interesting matter concerning the pecuniary affairs of the College. In Covel's last illness, November, 1722, it was found necessary to "put off the Accounts till Mr. Atherton comes to College." He was almost sole tutor for ten years, and was, indeed, "a learned and pious divine," for his tombstone says so at Little Canfield, to which he was the first College nominee, and there he died in 1749. Geo. Wade, Fellow for one year only, 1716-17, afterwards Vicar of Gainsborough, actually edited Horace in 1731,* and also printed a sermon "on the nature and consequences of partiality."

A more highly-placed man was Matthew Hutton, of Marske, Yorks, one of a family which has deserved well of the College. He was educated at Jesus College (B.A. 1713), and was Fellow here 1717-27. He owed his advancement to his connexion with the Duke of Somerset. He attended George II. to Hanover in 1736, and became soon afterwards Canon of Windsor.

* See Wordsworth's *Schol. Acad.*, p. 402. From his list of learned publications during the century (*ib.*, pp. 394-417) I have extracted the contribution made by this College, which is too depressing for me to print it. It may be a worse thing that very few other colleges in Cambridge seem to be more meritorious.

In 1743 he was appointed Bishop of Bangor. In 1747 he was promoted to the Archbishopric of York, which, after ten years, he exchanged for one year's tenure of Canterbury. He died at Westminster in 1758. One of the same name, a Fellow of Trinity, had preceded him at York a century and a half earlier.

An abler man, probably, than any of the Fellows was Nic. Saunderson, Lucasian Professor of Mathematics 1711-39. He was a Yorkshireman, blind from his childhood, and after leaving school he studied mathematics at home till he was twenty-five. In 1707 one Joshua Dunn came up to Christ's, and brought Saunderson with him, probably as a private tutor. The blind mathematician was kindly received by Whiston, the Lucasian Professor, with whose permission he lectured in the University: and when Whiston was ejected for his Arian tenets, Saunderson received on 19 November 1711 the M.A. degree to qualify him for the Professorship, and next day was elected Professor. He was an adherent of Newton, and as a lecturer he was remarkably successful. He was also a man of considerable culture, and a good Latin scholar. He could repeat all Horace's *Odes*, and much other Latin poetry. He died in 1739. His algebra, which was long a text-book at Cambridge, was first published a year after his death. Some of his lectures in MS. are in the College Library.

Another man of some distinction, Cox Macro, D.D., the collector and antiquary, of Little Haugh, near Ipswich, migrated in 1701-2 from Jesus to Christ's, for the reason (curious as it now appears) that he might enjoy better health, "mutato cælo," at Christ's than he could have in the College "where vapours dank with

contemplation dwell," as Taylor put it in his "Music Speech" at the commencement of 1730. A further reason is given that he came to study medicine, because two "egregii Medicinæ Doctores" flourished here—whom I cannot identify. He undoubtedly did study at Leyden during part of his long Cambridge course, which ended in an LL.B. in 1710. He was made D.D., *com. reg.*, 1717. He was "master of most of the modern languages," and a "most complete scholar and gentleman," in Hurd's view. He lived the peaceable life of a wealthy collector till his death in 1767 at the age of eighty-four. His treasures, which included Covel's collections, were scattered.

The accession of George I. was, on the whole, welcome at Cambridge. But the contrast between the Whiggism of the University and the ultra-Toryism of Oxford, immortalized by the famous epigrams on the gift by the King of Bishop Moore's library, was by no means so great as the second epigram would imply. The University, under the leadership of Sherlock, a moderate Tory, sent the usual address to the new King, together with the customary verses, to which Covel was for the last time a contributor. But next year, when Waterland, a decided Hanoverian, was Vice-Chancellor, an address of congratulation upon the suppression of the rebellion (composed by Bentley) was passed with difficulty; and for several years there was a contest at the election of the Vice-Chancellor, which was due partly to political feeling, partly to the bitter hostility against the Master of Trinity. Though the Tories were clearly a majority in the University, only a small section of them were Jacobites; the remainder, as well as the Whigs, were Hanoverian. Covel's name appears

on all the decrees of the Heads who supported Gooch, of Caius, Vice-Chancellor for three years, against Bentley; and he was present as assessor on the famous day in October 1718, when the great Aristarchus was declared by the Vice-Chancellor to be suspended from all his degrees—a sentence which, like his other few reverses, he bore with his usual coolness and audacity.

But Covel's successor in the Mastership, William Towers (1723-45), was a much stronger politician, and was also a supporter of Bentley. In 1718 he happened to be Senior Proctor, and at the time of the degradation by Grace of the Senate he challenged the Vice-Chancellor to point out the law or statute on which the grace was founded. He also commented on the action of the Heads in an official speech in the schools. I do not know whether animosity to Covel was one of his motives to this action. In 1714 Covel, at the instigation of two of the Fellows—Boldero and Ra. Aynsley—had declared Towers's Fellowship vacant, because he had inherited an estate from his father, a man of some property at Gaywood in Norfolk. The will was produced, but Towers declared that his father's debts exceeded the value of the inheritance. On being pressed to give further information, he refused, and was summarily ejected by Covel. Towers appealed to the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Greene, of Corpus, who reinstated him. The matter caused for the time much ill-feeling in the College.

Towers was elected Master in January 172$\frac{2}{3}$. I find a statement in the Registry Book, 92 (i.), 43, that Aynsley, Atherton, Tho. Sitwell, and Matt. Hutton came to the Vice-Chancellor (as Visitor) at King's College, and informed him that Towers had been

elected, but not according to the Statutes, and requested him to inquire into the matter. But there is no further record, unless an undated paper in our muniment-room refers to this election: it contains a query for legal opinion whether the vote of a Fellow for himself at the election to the Mastership be so far valid as to determine the election, if by that vote there be such a majority as the Statutes require; and also the opinion of Ja. Johnson that such vote is valid. The handwriting is very like that of Towers himself.

In 1733 Towers was a candidate for the Vice-Chancellorship. Dr. Long of Pembroke, his opponent, was elected by 102 to 72 after a contest "in which, to judge from the list of voters, the feelings of the two parties seem to have been entirely political" (Monk's *Bentley*, ii. 358). Towers's injudicious conduct as Proctor had not been forgotten, and he was again opposed in 1734; the votes for him, for Dr. Long, and for Dr. Adams of Sidney were equal, and the Regius Professor of Divinity had to select two. Bentley, who never forgot a friend, struck out Long, the most formidable opponent, and Towers was elected. This was the last (for almost fifty years) of a long series of contested elections. But political feeling ran none the less high. Cole (MS. xx.) gives an amusing account of the Masters of Christ's at this period; though caricatures, they are probably based on fact. He expressly disclaims animosity to Towers, to whom he had never spoken; but Towers was a Whig and Cole a pronounced Tory. Cole says that Towers

"was actually nominated to be King's Chaplain and my Lord Townsend sent him a letter of his nomination and by a second letter advised him of his month of resi-

dence, but by a peculiar unaccountableness of his manner he took no notice of either, and another was appointed in his room. At another time he was on the list for a vacant Bishopric, he having always behaved himself steadily in the Hanover interest, and that at a juncture when it was most wanted; but by his morose sour and rough manner he was sure to lose all the advantages and opportunities his merits and services entitled him to, and in any other person could never have failed [*sic*]. . . . If he was once set upon anything, all the arguments in the world were made to the wind: . . . however in general he was esteemed to be an honest and well-meaning man, but extremely unpolished and very wrong-headed. He was no less remarkable for his love of Squabbles and Law, which turned out at the end to be of no great advantage to the Society over which he presided. . . . Those best acquainted with him, which were but few, he living much by himself, gave him the character of a very facetious and pleasant companion, that he was a good Historian, and that there was hardly a gentleman's family in England he did not know the private history of, and hardly a village in the kingdom which he could not describe: making it his constant practice to travel privately about in the summer, and was never better pleased than when unknown and unobserved."

This last trait at least mitigates the badness of the rest! His antiquarian tastes are confirmed by a full account (left in MSS.) of some of the College properties; but he did not get on far with his work. He died 1 March 174$\frac{4}{5}$, and was buried near Covel in the antechapel, with no memorial.

Despite his litigious temperament the College was involved in few lawsuits in his day. The Diseworth question cropped up again in 1728 in its old form. In Trinity Term a Bill was brought by two of the under-

tenants, Rob. Cheslyn and Leonard Fosbrooke, on behalf of themselves and others, to compel the College to renew at the fines formerly paid. They claimed that the Lady Margaret in her grant of Diseworth to the College had stipulated that the copyholders should always renew at the same fine. The College had now raised the fine of the tenant in chief from £300 to £400; the fine had always been extracted out of the under-tenants as well as part of the rent. They seem to regard this as natural, but to object to the increase; indeed, they argued that the tenant in chief had no right to agree to the increase (which he got out of them) without their consent. The Bill was dismissed in 1730 with costs. The question was raised again fourteen years later, and again without success.

But if there was little to do in the Civil Courts, there was a plentiful crop of disputes within the College, and of appeals. Fourteen are recorded between 1700 and 1750. Covel's action about Towers in 1714 has been already described. An election of doubtful legality in the same year was quashed by the Vice-Chancellor. The Society elected as a Westmorland man one James Dodson. His parents were undoubtedly Westmorland folk; but at his birth his mother happened to be just over the border in Lancashire. Covel refused to admit him; and the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Sherlock, with one assessor, declared the election invalid, and ordered Covel to admit another candidate, Will. Edwards of St. John's, afterwards Rector of Burley, Ruts., and D.D. *com. reg.* 1728. There was talk of Sherlock having exceeded his power by nominating with only one assessor. But Edwards was left in his Fellowship.

In 1726 the position of King Edward's Fellow was

again discussed. The opinion of R. Britiffe was given 6 December 1726, which was to the effect that no one could be elected on this foundation if he were of the same county as one of the existing twelve Lady Margaret Fellows; but that a candidate might be elected to a Lady Margaret Fellowship even though he were of the same county as an existing King Edward Fellow; and he affirmed Perne's decision of 1581 to be bad at law. On December 16 a second opinion (from J. Andrew) agreed with Britiffe on the first point, but differed on the second. The Fellow at the time was Tho. Atherton, who held till 1733. Nothing more appears. In the same year legal opinion was obtained to the effect that the Finch and Baines Fellows, though they had no concern with the pecuniary affairs of the rest of the Society, must be reckoned for the "maior pars totius numeri" required at elections and presentations; and, in fact, they did sign regularly on those occasions.

There was an appeal in 1731 when the Society preferred one Tho. Robinson, who had not been a scholar, to John Every, who had. Every was a member of a well-known Derbyshire family, represented at Christ's through three generations; his father Simon succeeded his two elder brothers in the baronetcy, and was Rector of Navenby for fifty years (1703-1753).* The Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Mawson, with one assessor, pronounced the election good; the other, Dr. Colbatch, as in most transactions, dissented.

An interesting opinion is given by N. Fazakerly 16 July 1731, on the question whether, supposing a Fellow desire to be absent from College for two years,

* By an odd coincidence his immediate successor, Dearing Jones, held the same living from 1753 to 1803.

a Royal License to do so will prevent the statutable loss of his Fellowship. The opinion is that the Crown has no power to dispense with the Statutes. This marks a curious change from the view taken by Dr. Wilford sixty years before (see page 181). No Fellow is mentioned by name, nor do I find anything more on the subject.

In 1736 the Master ejected Hen. Finch on the very same ground on which he had himself suffered at Covel's hands. As Finch was M.P., which implied a certain pecuniary qualification, Towers maintained that he was disqualified for holding a Fellowship. Finch, who was "omnibus felicissimi ingenii dotibus instructissimus," as the enthusiastic Prælector declared at his admission to the College, appealed; and the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Adams, reinstated him on the ground that he had been "amov'd without any summons or notice." Finch, who was at the time H.M. Receiver-General at Minorca, and resided there, kept his Fellowship till 7 October 1749, when he resigned, after holding it thirty-six years. It may be noted that Cole censures Towers because he was under personal obligations to Finch. Cole's reason seems at least as objectionable as the Master's action!

Dr. Towers's next case was in 1738. He then refused to admit the Hon. Fre. Cornwallis, who had been elected by eleven votes, to a vacant Fellowship. It is stated that he refused on the ground that Mr. Cornwallis was the son of a Peer, and therefore not eligible under the Statute "de Sociorum qualitate"; and this doubtless was the ground, though no argument of the sort appears in any of the papers in the Visitor's Drawer. Cornwallis appealed to Dr. Richardson, Vice-Chancellor, who required the Master to admit him. Towers did so,

adding to the usual form the statement that he did so under the mandate of the Vice-Chancellor. Cole again censures Towers on the ground that Cornwallis was "one of the most amiable men I have ever known"—a fact probably true; but it may be conceded that there was some ground under the Statute for Towers's action. Cornwallis, who had a stroke of palsy while still an undergraduate, and wrote ever afterwards with his left hand, remained a Fellow till 1743. He was Prebendary of Windsor in 1746, Bishop of Lichfield 1750, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1768; he died 1783. Though "not deeply learned . . . he had a purity and benevolence of heart which, joined to the affability and courtesy of his manners, gained him the respect and love of everyone" (Hasted, *Canterbury*, ii. 513). I fear that he was somewhat obstructive.

In 1743 Dr. Towers again called in the Visitor, Dr. George of King's, on the ground that Tho. Makin, Fellow of the College, had at the last election given in the name of Dearing Jones as a candidate, though statutably ineligible as not in Priest's Orders, inasmuch as there were already two Fellows who by their age were still incapable of the same, viz., Joh. Willey and Cha. Dix. The Vice-Chancellor, prudently considering that such cases would formerly have been met by a dispensation, which could no longer be had, ordered the election to proceed, adding as an interpretation that every Deacon already elected a Fellow shall be in Priest's Orders within four months after he is twenty-four years of age, or forfeit his Fellowship.

Whether the excitement in the College caused by Dr. Towers's habit of "perplexing" (to quote Cole once more), or the want of something better to do was the

cause, it is remarkable how many Fellows at this time died quite young men. In 1719 Edward Ellis died aged 26; in 1723 Dan. Hunt (chaplain to Mr. Finch, envoy to Sweden), aged 28; in 1735 Will. Mabell, aged 32; in 1737 Ri. Philpot, aged 31; in 1738 Will. Staniforth, aged 35; in 1740 Tho. Robinson, aged 34; in 1744 Tho. Makin, aged 32.

The responsibility of "beautifying" the Hall in 1723-24 belongs to Dr. Towers—at least, it happened in his time—but I think that Covel had made preparations for it. The two chief donors were Henry Finch, Dean of York, who gave £100 for this purpose, and Sir George Wheler, Prebendary of Durham, and Rector of Houghton le Spring, who left £150 in 1724. There is no evidence that he was a member of the College: but his son Granville was Fellow 1722-24, when he resigned on succeeding to his father's estate. The cost of the work was £316, of which sum James Essex, the architect, and John Austin had £93 between them; £38 went to the carver, and £42 to the glazier. The character of the work has been given at page 31.

Some work was done in the Lodge in 1731. The Master's study was wainscoted (as it now appears) for £35 12^{s}: and "a new room," the present passage-room, was made "out of 2 pantrys next the chapel." In the same year "Rats' Hall" was pulled down, being past repair: the number of students had fallen off so much that it was not needed. In 1739 the remaining part of the front of the College—that between the gateway and Christ's Lane—was cased with freestone. The cost—more than £200—was borne by an old member, Christopher Clarke, Archdeacon of Norwich and Prebendary of Ely. He had already, in 1736,

From a photograph by] [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge.*

THE HALL.

PLATE VI.

given an estate at Ryden (now spelt Roydon), near King's Lynn, for a scholarship, with preference to natives of Norfolk, but open to all since 1860.

In 1736 the advowson of Moulton, in Suffolk, was purchased of the patron and incumbent, the Rev. John Gee, for £620. Of this sum, £200 was taken from the money left by Dean Finch for the purchase of advowsons. Mr. Gee lived till 1772.

A legacy of £600 came to the College in 1737 from the Rev. Tho. Sitwell, a Fellow and Vicar of Caldecot, for the augmentation of the Mastership and Fellowships. It was invested in South Sea Annuities, and the interest was every year divided between the legatees as a distinct payment, called "Mr. Sitwell's benefaction," till 1854, when the capital was sunk in land at Meldreth. Sitwell died in College, and was buried in the ante-chapel.

The Fellows of most note at this time were Edward Finch, later Finch-Hatton (1728-46), whom I have already mentioned in the account of the Finch and Baines Fellows, and Edmund Law (1727-40). Law was educated at St. John's, and elected at Christ's to a northern Fellowship: he was born at Cartmell in Furness. He took pupils for ten years, two of whom were Fre. Cornwallis, his future patron, and Ewan Christian, his future brother-in-law. He was appointed Rector of Greystock, Cumberland, in 1737, but obtained possession only in 1739, when he left Cambridge. He was Archdeacon of Carlisle 1743-56: then he was elected Master of Peterhouse, and returned to Cambridge. From 1764 to 1769 he was Knightbridge Professor; and in 1769 he was made Bishop of Carlisle. His Mastership occupied his terms, and his Bishopric his summer

vacation, till his death in 1787 at the age of eighty-three. He was always a keen student, and an independent, if not an original, thinker. He had great influence on William Paley, whose patron he was. During his residence at Cambridge, he was joint editor of Stephens' *Thesaurus*, a valuable piece of work. His *Considerations of the State of the World with Regard to the Theory of Religion* was published in 1745; and late in life he edited Locke, whose disciple he was. The most distinctive part of his *Theory* is the way in which he works out the progressive character of revelation, maintaining that so much was given from time to time as mankind was fitted to receive—in a word, that the education of the race has been gradual. Throughout life he was an advocate of religious freedom, and he supported Archdeacon Blackburne in the struggle for the abolition of subscription by clergymen. Paley records that he valued his bishopric chiefly as a proof that there was in England decent freedom of thought. "He was zealously attached to religious liberty, because he thought that it leads to truth; yet from his heart he loved peace."

The College produced two of the fourteen clergymen of the Church of England to whom the honour of being the earliest leaders in the Evangelical revival is given by Canon Overton. One of these was Tho. Adam (admitted 1720), whose influence was that of a blameless life devoted to pastoral work during a fifty-eight years' incumbency of Winteringham, Lincs. The other, active and eccentric, was Will. Grimshaw, of Haworth (admitted 1726), who followed Wesley in holding that his sphere was not limited to his parish, and preached incessantly through Yorkshire, Derbyshire,

Cheshire, and Lancashire. Canon Overton reports a tale how "while the hymn was being sung before sermon he would go out of church armed with a horse-whip and drive all the loiterers about the village into church"; how the blacksmith at Haworth durst shoe no horse on Sunday without the Vicar's leave; and how drinkers at the public-house would escape through the window at his approach. His restless activity was certainly likely to promote the current identification of Evangelicalism with Methodism, and to be unacceptable to the peace-loving believers in "our happy Establishment in Church and State."* I do not find that we sent out later many of these disturbers of men's consciences: but among Paley's contemporaries and friends at Christ's was Will. Cawthorne Unwin, second Chancellor's Medallist in 1764, the son of Cowper's "Mary," and the enviable recipient of many of Cowper's letters. He was first curate of Comberton, near Cambridge, and then Rector of Stock. We may also claim Tho. Haweis, the Chaplain of the Countess of Huntingdon: he was first at Christ Church, Oxford, but took no degree there; he was LL.B. here in 1772: his voluminous writings are forgotten now. Tho. Thompson, Fellow 1738-46, may be mentioned here. He laboured at a mission on the Guinea coast 1751-56, when his health broke down. He was afterwards beneficed in Kent.

The successor of Towers as Master of the College on 12 March 174$\frac{4}{5}$ was George Henry Rooke. The son of an attorney at Carlisle, he was educated at Westminster,

* "No fact is more patent to the student of Church history in the eighteenth century than the intense yearning for rest which prevailed" (Overton, p. 171).

and proceeded thence to Trinity, where he became B.A. in 1724; and he succeeded to Matt. Hutton's Fellowship at Christ's in 1727. He wrote one of the official poems on the death of George I. and the accession of George II., and throughout life he was a zealous Whig, a supporter of the Duke of Newcastle at the election to the High Stewardship in 1737, and also later when he succeeded the Duke of Somerset, whose long Chancellorship ended in 1748. There is no trace of any opposition to Rooke's election to the Mastership. He was Senior Fellow, and had supporters among the junior members of a singularly undistinguished body. He was active in University politics. During his Vice-Chancellorship (1745-46) he was unpopular with the Senate. According to Cole he had some scheme for employing the balance of some moneys which had been subscribed for the suppression of the rebellion, which did not find favour, and the Senate threw out all Graces during his time of office. He was supposed to be one of the chief instigators of the orders and regulations for the reformation of the University, which the new Chancellor sent down in 1750 for the approval of the Senate. They are given at length in Cooper's *Annals* (iv. 278), and also a list of the pamphlets which they called forth. Several of these are amusing, and are described in Wordsworth's *Life in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 617-33. The regulations are drastic: *e.g.*, no person *in statu pupillari* may keep a servant or a horse without the consent in writing of his guardian; anyone who does not attend St. Mary's is to be fined 6^d for each offence; if he appears with a gun he must pay 10^s; if out of his college after 11 p.m. he is to be fined 6^s 8^d for the first offence, with expulsion for the fourth. One regulation

was indeed withdrawn, which required an account of the behaviour of every member of the University to be sent to the Chancellor once a year. The discredit of this alarming code, which was passed on June 26, after some resistance on May 11, was given chiefly to Rooke; to Tho. Chapman, who was Fellow of Christ's 1741-46, when he was elected Master of Magdalene, and was Vice-Chancellor in 1748—"in nature a vain and busy man," says Hurd; and to Edm. Keene, Master of Peterhouse, Vice-Chancellor successively in 1749 and 1750; afterwards Bishop of Chester and of Ely: even Cole allowed him to be "most cheerful, generous, and good-tempered." The fact that such regulations could be proposed with success may be taken as a proof that a reformation of manners was desirable; but it does not justify the wisdom of those who believed that they could be maintained. It is not wonderful that they produced numerous sarcastic attacks.* The offending Heads appear under divers sobriquets—Keene as "Mun" (Edmund), and "Acutus"; Chapman as "Tom"; Rooke as "Crow," or "George Rock," or "Gobrias." The address to him in the "Capitade," one of the pamphlets, gives a gloomy picture of the College.

"Hail, Gobrias, hail! thou doughty Chief, whose Nod
Makes Ch . . . . ians tremble and deny their God;
In whose dark Realms nor Wit nor Learning spread,
Nor Merit sprouts, nor Honour rears her Head,
Where 'midst a general Pravity of Spirit
Poor Robin only suffers—for his Merit."

Robin is possibly Robert Hankinson, a Fellow, sometimes found in opposition. Another piece is the

* Some of these may be found in the University Library (Z. 23, 8).

"Fragment," supposed to be the work of Dr. Stebbing of Catherine Hall. In it Alma Mater appears as a sick old lady much upset by her recent marriage to Tom Standish—the new Chancellor: the Heads are her sons, of whom Tom and Mun have specially ill-treated her: and Dr. Rock is charged with having given her very injurious pills (the regulations). This agrees with Cole's account of Rooke as "one of the most managing persons among the Heads."

> "In the Scull-room what is doing
> By the Omens you may know.
> There is always mischief brewing
> When you hear the voice of Crow."

It may be hoped that political feeling may have exaggerated some of his defects in Cole's mind. "With all his hautiness," says that good Tory, "he had the usual concomitants of it, meanness and servility, to an inexpressible degree, being the most abject slave and fawning sycophant that I ever saw." "I never knew anyone so universally disesteemed, to call it by no harsher term [it is a very compendious one], by all sorts of People and all sorts of Parties as himself." He was a dandy, too, "hardly ever stirring abroad without a new Pair of Dove-coloured glazed gloves drawn over his brown and hairy hands."

Cole allowed that he "laid out a good deal of money in fitting up his Lodge in an elegant and good taste." In fact, he persuaded the society to let him have the old parlour, to be (as it has always since been) the Master's dining-room, taking in exchange the present combination-room. The "good taste" consisted in part in the extraordinary cases which envelop the

beams of the ceiling. In 1748 the "Little Lodge" was taken down, and the materials applied "to the building of convenient offices for the Master, and other purposes of the College." Whether any went to the "other purposes" I do not know; but the curious and not inconvenient block of servants' buildings was stuck on to the north side of the chapel: they were connected with the Lodge by a passage round the east side in the time of Dr. Barker.

I have found one or two appeals in Rooke's time. One (1749) is from two Fellows, Rob. Hankinson and Ri. Hayes, together with two scholars (whose names may be suppressed), on the ground that these scholars had been passed over at the election to the Fellowship of Hugh Thomas, vacated by his acceptance of the Rectory of Gately, in favour of Alex. James, B.A., of Clare, who had been elected by the Master and seven Fellows as against three, two being absent. The ground of the appeal was practically that a scholar of the house, if not disqualified, had a better right than any alien; and the reply (put shortly) was that one of these scholars had morals but no learning, and the other had learning but no morals. The Vice-Chancellor, who was Dr. Keene, naturally upheld the election. But there was a further point, which produced a quarrel between Crow and Mun. Rooke and the seven Fellows had answered the appeal under protest that the case was not one where an appeal was admissible. Here the Visitor, again quite rightly, held that there was ground for appeal, and ordered the Master to enter the decision in his Statute-Book. This was done, but with a curious protest, that inasmuch as the Visitor claims cognisance of all whether real or supposed grievances, injuries, etc.,

"I, George Henry Rooke . . . do hereby declare that I do not or will not submit to the Visitor's assuming any power which is not directly or by plain implication given him by the Statutes of the College. . . ." But pride came before a fall, and immediately after this valiant protest, entered and subscribed by a Notary Publick, there appears in the Master's handwriting the following entry: "October the 23rd 1750.—At a meeting of the Fellows this day the foregoing protest was withdrawn, and is hereby declared to be so by me, Geo. Hen. Rooke."

A second appeal is from Rob. French, Fellow of the College, on 28 November 1752. He had been elected a Fellow on 12 December 1750, and at the Lady Day Audit the Master had refused him his dividend on the ground that he had been absent more than eighteen weeks since the last Michaelmas Audit. Mr. French, who was, I believe, curate of Caxton, ingeniously argued that part of his absence was in 1750 and part in 1751, and that the year ought to be reckoned from January 1. The Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Yonge, did not adopt this suggestion; but as no notice had been given to French of his danger, and as there was no clear evidence of custom, he recommended that the dividend should be paid, and that in future the year of residence should be computed from the day after Michaelmas Day.

The quality of the society improved during Rooke's Mastership. On 5 January 174$\frac{6}{7}$ Antony Shepherd, of St. John's, was elected to a northern Fellowship. He was a tutor from 1752 to 1777, and from 1756—for nearly twenty years—he had practically almost all the students of the College, either alone or with assistants. He held the Plumian Professorship from 1760 till his

death in 1795. He seems to have delivered some lectures—contrary to custom—though he published little. He was intimate with the Burney household in London, and we have the assurance of Fanny Burney that he was "prodigiously tall and stout." Shortly afterwards she adds in her diary: "Dr. Shepherd who is dullness itself" (*Early Diary*, i. 280, 282). He was made Canon of Windsor 1777, which was the beginning of a tragi-comedy. Appeals were made to each succeeding Visitor from 1777 to 1781 to eject him from his Fellowship, as holding preferment above the statutable amount; but without success. On 27 July 1780 Dr. Barker, who had just become Master, declared Dr. Shepherd's Fellowship vacant without reference to the Vice-Chancellor, and appointed July 31 for the election of his successor. But on July 29 an inhibition arrived from the Visitor. There is a useful pamphlet, written by Dr. Joh. Fisher, Fellow at that time, and Commissary of the University, addressed to Dr. Beadon, who was Vice-Chancellor 1781-83, in which all previous appeals and interpretations which seemed to the writer applicable to the case are discussed at length. In 22 November 1783 the Master finally declared the Fellowship vacant, and a successor was elected.

Five years after Shepherd—in 1752—Beilby Porteus was elected a Fellow. Of American descent, but born at York, the youngest but one of nineteen children, he was brought to Christ's by Dr. Rooke as a sizar in 1748, and was tenth Wrangler and second Chancellor's Medallist in 1752. He resided for ten years, and took a few pupils, chiefly Fellow-commoners. He left to become chaplain to Archbishop Secker in 1762, probably finding Lambeth better suited to study than Cambridge. In 1767 he

became Rector of Lambeth, and shortly afterwards had to regret the loss of the Archbishop, whose life he wrote. In 1769 he became chaplain to George III., and was perhaps a favourite with Queen Charlotte (though his biographer, Hodgson, says nothing of it), for he was nicknamed by J. Barlow Seale, of Christ's, "the Queen's Bishop." In 1776 he was made, without any solicitation, Bishop of Chester; and he was Bishop of London from 1787 till his death in 1808. He was one of the most liberal, perhaps one of the best, of the bishops of the day. As early as 1773 he was the leader in an attempt to procure a revision of the Liturgy and Articles—not, as he is careful to say, in connection with Archdeacon Blackburn's movement, but rather to counteract it. But Cornwallis was conservative, and put down his foot at once. Later, Porteus supported the proposal for giving relief to Roman Catholics. He was always in sympathy with the Evangelical party. "The promotion of Sunday-schools, the agitation for the abolition of the slave-trade, the newly-awakened zeal for foreign missions, all found in him a warm and powerful friend" (Overton, *Evangelical Revival*, p. 99). But he was equally a supporter of a decent ritual and a careful performance of the services of the Church, and for this end he gave to the College in 1807 £1,200 to provide yearly three gold medals—one for the best reader in the chapel, and two others for a Latin dissertation and for an English essay, which were to be read aloud in the chapel, and regard was to be had in the award to the delivery of them. Lastly, he persistently endeavoured to promote a more religious observance of Sunday and of Good Friday, not by legislation, but by personal influence with people of

high position, including the Prince Regent; and he is said to have had some success. His works, published in six volumes in 1811, are perhaps less interesting than his life, but his Seatonian prize-poem on "Death" is not worse than Young's "Night Thoughts."

It would be interesting to know exactly what was done in the eighteenth century at Christ's to test the merits of candidates for Fellowships, now that the day of mandates was past. It does not seem that better men were got in the first half of the century. It appears certain that there was no formal examination; and candidates might be elected whom the Fellows had never even seen, if we may trust Messrs. Hankinson and Hayes in their attack on the election of Alex. James. In 1752 there is evidence of some sort of examination; possibly arising out of that case. On May 22 the Master "appointed the election of a Fellow in his room on Tuesday, the 26th instant, at 12 o'clock, at the lodge: and the examination of the candidates to be at any time on the day preceding by such of the Fellows as think proper to examine them." This dies out by degrees. On 6 March 1761 the examination is to be "at the *same* time and place [as the election] and at any other by the Master and such of the Fellows as shall think proper." In 1763 and ever after the announcement ends "at the same time and place." I conclude that the examination of the candidates was by sight only. Perhaps we should credit Dr. Rooke with the institution of some examination, however slight; he may have brought the idea from Trinity, where it was due to Bentley.

In 1745 the College—probably at Rooke's suggestion—agreed to subscribe £100 "in defence of His Majesty

and for the support of His Government in this time of Danger." This was patriotic, because in the same year it was necessary twice to postpone the audit in consequence of "the great Deficiency of our Rents"; the same thing happened again more than once in the next three years. Some plate—the amount is not stated—was sent to London to be melted down and "exchanged for such other useful things as may be thought necessary"—an order, the terms of which would have satisfied Dr. Bentley, as the Master was practically the judge of any "necessity."

In the same year the College received from Dame Diana Drury, of Pinkney Hall, a house and 12 acres of land at Blo' Norton in Norfolk, and a house and 64 acres at Cookley in Suffolk; four-fifths of the rents were to be applied to the maintenance of two exhibitioners and one-fifth was to be for the use of the College; there was a preference to boys educated at the Free Schools of Scarning, Holt, Swaffham, and Norwich. In 1860 two scholarships were established and the preference was abolished.

A smaller bequest (£100) was received in 1751 by the will of Mrs. Bridget Beridge, of Kensington. The will states that her father was a member of the College —probably John Beridge, D.D. 1684, and Rector of Massingham. In 1752 the money was somewhat unwisely devoted to "fitting up chambers out of repair": and £4 a year was charged on the study rents for the support of a scholar according to Mrs. Beridge's will.

Early in January 1754 Dr. Rooke died suddenly, aged under fifty, in College as Cole says; but he was buried at Hadstock, of which he had been Rector since 1740. He had never married. His successor, Hugh

Thomas, was admitted on February 18. He was a Welshman, born in 1706 at Landshipping, Pembroke. I do not know what brought him to Christ's, unless he was akin to one Will. Thomas, who at that time was collector of the College tithes at Manorbeer. He was elected Fellow in $173\frac{0}{1}$, was a tutor from 1732-47, and during the five years from 1741 had the largest number of pupils; but the whole number was then very small. In 1747 he was presented to the living of Rolleston, and two years later to the College living of Gately, when he resigned his Fellowship. In 1754 he was recalled to Cambridge, and in 1758 he was made Dean of Ely; this he held with his Mastership till his death in 1780, and it is as Dean that he is generally mentioned. He was talked of as likely to be Bishop of Carlisle; Gray, writing to Mason 29 December 1768, said that he had been actually appointed: and there was a story that Edm. Law, then Master of Peterhouse, persuaded him to decline, that he (Law) might have it; I find no better warrant for this than that Mrs. Thomas constantly asserted it. Cole speaks of him as "always esteemed a very worthy man," says that he did decline the Bishopric, and also "that he lives snugly, tho' handsomely, and has saved money for a growing family." Unluckily, Cole, who had a keen eye for the weak side of a man, gives a list of his preferments, which was wonderful even for those days. He was (1) Master, (2) Dean of Ely, (3) Chancellor of York, (4) Archdeacon of Nottingham, (5) Prebendary of York, (6) Prebendary of Ripon, (7) Prebendary of Southwell, (8) Rector of Weldrake, (9) Vicar of Etton, (10) had some sinecure Rectory, not specified.

He was Vice-Chancellor in 1756, and was again elected

in 1777, when he was above seventy; he declined to serve on the ground of health, and a Grace was brought forward to excuse him on his paying £100 by way of mulct; Cole says that he offered this, and adds that it was superfluous, for being over sixty he was exempt from any such service.* It would seem that on December 2 he was excused absolutely.

He died 11 July 1780 rather suddenly, and was buried in the evening privately in the centre of the antechapel, six Fellows bearing the pall. His memorial survives those of others who were doubtless buried earlier in the same place; the burials in the chapel (recorded in the St. Andrew's registers) are much more numerous than the surviving inscriptions.

During Dr. Thomas's days there was activity both in the College and in the University, which was no longer primarily political: and I think that it found him a steady opponent. An attempt was made in the College to raise the standard both of teaching and of study. Sheppard was a lax tutor; Will. Backhouse, who was his coadjutor 1757-68, afterwards Archdeacon of Canterbury, had literary tastes; but it was not till he left Cambridge that the movement began with two of the youngest Fellows, Will. Paley and Joh. Law, who was son of the Bishop of Carlisle. Paley, whose name is, I suppose, more universally associated with the College than any other, except that of Milton, was the son of an elder William, B.A. at Christ's 173$\frac{3}{4}$, and appointed by the College soon afterwards Vicar of Helpston. The family belonged to Craven, in Yorkshire, and many members of it were educated at Giggleswick and proceeded to Christ's. Will. Paley, the Vicar of Helpston,

* In 1780 it was enacted that anyone above seventy should be excused from University offices.

was appointed to the Headmastership of his old school in 1745, and held both appointments till his death in 1799. William, his eldest son, was born in 1743 at Peterborough, from which Helpston is not far distant, his father being then Minor Canon of the Cathedral. He was educated under his father at Giggleswick, and came into residence as a sizar at Christ's in October 1759 when he was sixteen. He received from Shepherd the privilege which seems to have been usually accorded to students of superior ability, exemption from his tutor's lectures: though he attended those of Backhouse on logic and philosophy, and doubtless had the advantage of contrasting the *a priori* system of Clarke, whose reputation was still high at Cambridge, with the less ambitious position of Locke, who was content to base on revelation the truths which he refused to derive from intuition. Whether his preference for Locke—which was decisive—was due to the influence of Bishop Law, who had returned to Cambridge from Carlisle, and was afterwards his patron, or whether his natural bent led him to a teacher whose habit of thought had much in common with his own, is not clear. His biographer, Meadley, gives an interesting account of his life at Cambridge, derived largely from Paley's college-friend, Cha. Stoddart, afterwards Headmaster of Ashford School, the third in a unique list of father, son, grandson, and great-grandson, all of the same name, and all successively educated at the College, where the first Charles was entered in 1690, and Charles the fourth in 1790.* That Paley read in a desultory way for

* The same length of time was covered by three men—Tho. Stacye, Rector of Gelligaer, admitted 1776, Joh. Stacye, Chaplain of Shrewsbury Hospital, Sheffield, admitted 1827, and Joh. Evelyn Stacye, the grandson, of Ecclesfield, B.A. 1876.

two years and was much given to society seems clear; probably it was the way of the College; I suspect that the epithets "worthy" and "respectable" applied by common friends to another contemporary and intimate of Paley, Will. Cawthorne Unwin, indicate that he was addicted to the exceptional virtue of steady reading. The story goes that Paley was converted to systematic study at the beginning of his third year by the unusual means of an oath uttered at his bedside by a friend at five in the morning:* and in 1795 he described with some self-satisfaction his reformed conduct, how

"I arose at five, read during the whole of the day except such hours as chapel and hall required, allotting to each portion of time its peculiar branch of study, and just before the closing of the gates (nine o'clock) I went to a neighbouring coffee house, where I constantly regaled upon a mutton-chop and a dose of milk-punch: and thus on taking my bachelor's degree I became senior Wrangler."

Paley was elected to a Fellowship in 1766, but went away to school-work for a year. In August 1768 Backhouse left Cambridge; and Dr. Shepherd struck out the idea of having his work done chiefly by deputy. Paley and John Law (who had been second Wrangler and first Chancellor's Medallist in 1766) were accordingly made assistants to the tutor, instead of being, as they would naturally have been, formidable rivals, and they were paid by him till 1772, when they appear as joint tutors. Meadley says that they were alarmed by a new pupil having been entered under another Fellow—to

* "Paley, I have been thinking what a damned fool you are." —Meadley, *Life*, p. 23, note.

wit, Ri. Haighton, who, though senior wrangler in 1762 (the year before Paley), was not a Fellow till 1769. The trio monopolized the tuition of the College, probably by the Master's co-operation, till Law left Cambridge in 1774, in which year (says Meadley) "the elevation of Dr. Edmund Law to the see of Carlisle naturally led to the promotion of his son," who became Prebendary of that Cathedral, and Archdeacon three years later—the earnest of his future promotion to the Bishopric of Clonfert in 1782, and afterwards of Elphin. Paley took Backhouse's work, but, according to Meadley, he "abandoned the beaten track of his predecessor, and presented the result of his own inquiries in a more interesting and original form." Law took such mathematical lectures as Dr. Shepherd did not retain. But they broke apparently new ground. "They instituted evening lectures every Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday at nine o'clock, Mr. Paley lecturing twice a week on the Greek Testament, and Mr. Law once on some classical author in Greek and Latin alternately in each succeeding term." This does not seem a very daring or very burdensome innovation: but it was sufficient to call forth Jebb's strong eulogy of the "worthy tutors" of Christ's and the other four Colleges where the study of the Greek Testament had been introduced: and it was very unpopular at first in the College; but the Master did not require the young tutors to desist. Their labours were soon rewarded: in 1775 Paley was able to collect a voluntary class of all his pupils but one, to whom he delivered lectures in Divinity, which contained the substance of the future *Evidences of Christianity* and of the *Horæ Paulinæ*. Law's classical lecturing seems to have survived him: when we next get a

contemporary's account of the education given in the College, we find Hen. Gunning in 1785 attending a regular course of lectures given by J. Barlow Seale, who, indeed, succeeded to Law's Fellowship. But when the same tutors attempted to oblige the Fellow-commoners to declaim (like the ordinary students) in chapel, the Society felt that a line must be drawn somewhere; Dr. Shepherd had "a good connexion," and the Fellow-commoners were numerous; real discipline for them was not to be thought of.

Two interesting movements belong to the short time during which Paley was tutor at Christ's. The protagonist of both at Cambridge was John Jebb, of Peterhouse, son of the Dean of Cashel, who was formerly Fellow of Christ's. But the first—the agitation for the removal, or, at least, the relaxation, of subscription to the formularies of the Church—was not limited to Cambridge. Paley cannot have objected on principle to the relaxation proposed. The Thirty-nine Articles, as he afterwards said, were merely "Articles of peace," it being impossible for any man to assent to the whole of "about 240 distinct propositions, many of them inconsistent with each other." But he held back. The excuse (commonly attributed to him), "that he could not afford to keep a conscience," was doubtless a jest made to serve instead of a real reason. It may have been that he did not wish to associate himself with Jebb in the matter: for though Jebb did not resign his living till 1775, his Unitarian views were doubtless known to his friends long before. The petition to the House of Commons in February 1722 was met there by the objection that the Universities could themselves remedy the grievance to their own students. It was,

doubtless, in consequence of this that a syndicate was appointed immediately afterwards to consider the legal position; and the Grace of June 23 to substitute for the candidates for B.A. a declaration of *bona fide* membership of the Church of England, instead of subscription to the three articles in the Canon, met with little opposition. The Bishop of Carlisle was more courageous than Paley. He both preached "a noble sermon" at St. Mary's to show that to impose other articles as terms of communion than what Christ had given was spiritual tyranny: and in the following year he published a pamphlet entitled *Considerations on the Propriety of Requiring a Subscription to Articles of Faith.* Paley issued in June 1774 a pamphlet in defence of Dr. Law's, but anonymously: it was eventually published among his works. In considering his conduct on this question, it ought to be remembered that in an age of servile begging for preferment Paley kept himself pure: and it is fair to infer that on this occasion he was not influenced by any mean consideration of his own interests.

The second agitation, which was limited to Cambridge, for the establishment of annual examinations for all its members, in the hope of thereby stimulating the idle half of the University, was raised by Jebb, but with the support of Law, of Plumptre (the President of Queen's), of Ri. Watson (afterwards Bishop of Llandaff), and incidentally of the Duke of Grafton (the Chancellor). It lasted from 1772 to 1776, and was fruitless: it consisted of numerous futile attempts to get Graces proposed by Jebb through the Caput, and of the slaughter by votes of the Senate, generally in the non-regent house, of such Graces as successfully passed

that ordeal. Paley was a member of one syndicate, and was reckoned as a supporter of Jebb; though Jebb declared that he did not know what to make of him, for he said nothing—doubtless an abnormal practice for Paley. The scheme was throughout opposed by Dr. Powell, Master of St. John's, who had already established examinations in his own College; and Paley may have thought with him that such work was the business of the Colleges rather than of the University.

The persistent affection of the Senate of the University for a book which is good to read and very good to examine upon has preserved alive, even to the present day, the *Evidences of Christianity*, almost alone (with the possible exception of the *Horæ Paulinæ*) out of Paley's complete system. This is a hardship for any writer, but especially for Paley; because herein he deals chiefly with miracles, and his thesis therefore becomes increasingly unattractive the more the conception of universal law is strengthened by science. It was more appropriate to an age which regarded with favour the famous argument from the watch, and was satisfied with the view of God as the Great Contriver.

But the attention given to miracles, disproportionate as it may now seem, will appear to us natural in Paley if we consider his relation to Locke. The *Evidences* are, as has been said, developed out of lectures, in which frequent reference, at least, was made to Locke. Now, Locke's theological position, as we may collect it from his *Reasonableness of Christianity*, was in most points identical with Paley's, and was briefly this—Human reason apprehends God, "the most obvious truth." We do what is right because it is God's will, not "because right is right," as Cudworth might have put

it, in anticipation of the phrase of Tennyson. What is right is the promotion of the happiness of mankind as a whole; and to aim at this is virtue. The sanction of morality is reward or punishment; this is known by revelation in Scripture, and Scripture is infallible. The evidence of Christ's mission to reveal this lies in miracles. "These," says Locke, "never were nor could be denied." Therefore, nothing is needed but to find out the rule of life in Scripture, which is adapted to ordinary intelligence, and agrees with common sense.

Every part of this creed is to be found in Law and (more fully) in Paley, except the words of Locke which I have quoted. Paley knew that miracles could be denied: therefore he had to supplement Locke on this point. He had not to restate and reinforce Locke's system as a whole; he had to deal with a *casus omissus* in it. Hence, as I conceive, the form which his lectures took: for it is important to bear in mind that we have to explain his treatment of the subject, not as dating from the publication of the book, as we have it, in 1794, but as first conceived thirty years earlier.

Meadley gives in an Appendix (293-318) interesting extracts from Paley's lectures at Christ's, as preserved in the manuscripts of his pupils. Paley's notes for the lectures are preserved in the British Museum. It appears that he rejected all internal attestation of Christianity as the principle of the Quakers and Methodists: because, if a man feels no such attestation within him, infidelity is his only resort. His view of justification by faith is peculiar. That doctrine, he says, is one of the most serious points of difference between "us" and the Methodists. He explains St. Paul's language by saying that by faith Paul meant simply the conver-

sion of the Jew or heathen to Christianity by believing the history of Christ: justification is the delivery, at the moment of the conversion, from the previous desperate condition, and has nothing to do with final salvation: Paul himself allows that a justified person may lapse into sin: and we should never have heard of the doctrine of justification but for Paul's disputes with the Jews, which led him for argument's sake to deny all merit to the works which the Jew could claim as well as the Christian.

His protest against the "Methodist" claim to feel the moving of the Holy Spirit, and consequent certainty of salvation, is characteristic. "We, on the contrary, say that we perceive no such thing." Nothing of the will of God can be known, save by external signs, to which Christ Himself appealed.

Paley's life and activities after he left Cambridge do not come within the scope of this book. He acted, while he was tutor, as chaplain to Dr. Law when the Bishop migrated from Peterhouse to Rose Castle in the Long Vacations. He seems to have said that he would leave Cambridge as soon as he could obtain a preferment worth £200 a year. He did actually in 1776 leave for the much smaller income (£80) of Musgrave. But better things were in store for him, though he never obtained a position such as his ability and character might fairly have challenged. Perhaps he was not regarded as a perfectly "safe" man. He was, at least, open to a charge of Unitarian leanings, though, as Mr. L. Stephen concludes, there is no reason to doubt his perfect sincerity. Gunning says that he might have succeeded to the Deanery of Carlisle if his views had not been misrepresented to Wilberforce. He

declined an offer of the Mastership of Jesus College made to him in 1792 by Bishop Yorke, of Ely.

His early departure from Cambridge, where he found much work and clearly did it well, is one among many indications of the small attractiveness of a University career to a really able man of that day. Headships, no doubt, were keenly sought: but for these ability and learning were secondary qualifications. Professorships, too, were desirable, but chiefly as stepping-stones. No special knowledge of the subject professed was thought necessary in a candidate even by the most ardent reformer. Ri. Watson was elected unanimously to the Chair of Chemistry in 1764, when, as he says, he "had never read a syllable on the subject nor seen a single experiment in it" (*Anecdotes*, p. 29). In 1771 the Regius Professor of Divinity died suddenly. Watson "knew so much of divinity as could reasonably be expected from a man whose course of studies had been directed to . . . other pursuits"; but "not being of a temper to be discouraged by difficulties," he determined to "sound the University." He found that the University expected that he should come forward. True, the Professor must be at least B.D., and he had only seven days to get over that difficulty; but by "hard travelling and some adroitness" he got a mandate for D.D., and was created the day before the examination of candidates. What wonder that such a candidate was unanimously elected, or that he should eventually become a Bishop—who rarely visited his diocese! In 1768 Jebb was a candidate for the Professorship of Arabic, for which he had actually qualified himself, says his biographer, Disney, "by much application and study." But Dr. Sam. Hallifax

was taken, who two years afterwards was transferred to the Professorship of Civil Law, and finally to the Bishopric of St. Asaph. Disney limits his criticism to a "regret" that Hallifax should have "impatiently seized the passing offer of the Arabic Professorship to the prejudice of another who . . . would have devoted some time at least to the teaching of that language in the University." But to teach his subject was not thought binding on a Professor, still less to advance the knowledge of it. Dr. Hallifax shows us the true course for an energetic man—to take the first post that offered, and to jump from that into the next. The ordinary Fellow, who lacked the capacity for such feats, was happy to get the first good living which a patron could be found to give him; or in default of such a patron, he waited for College preferment. Few of any calibre looked to the University for a career.

It is not surprising that at a time when University Professorships were given without regard to special knowledge, College appointments should be made with a like indifference. The election of College officers each year is duly recorded: the offices are commonly heaped on one or two persons, and most of the Fellows have their turn. In 1763 John Barker, the future Master, and no exceptional genius, was Head Lecturer, Senior Greek Lecturer, Junior Greek Lecturer, Hebrew Lecturer and Catechist. In 1768 Paley was everything but Junior Dean and Custos Cistæ—a pluralism for which he had a sufficient warrant in the practice of the Master. No doubt the stipends of these offices were of small value, and possibly the lectureships had ceased to imply work; certainly from the middle of the century and onwards, perhaps considerably earlier, the in-

struction, such as it was, was given by the tutors, who (though unrecognised by the Statutes) were practically College officials. For a time the tutors at Christ's were distinguished. Dr. Shepherd, as Plumian Professor, was a well-known man, and had a large clientèle. Any College might have been proud of Paley and Law. But their time was short. The first of their successors was Tho. Parkinson, senior Wrangler in 1769. Gunning, who was his pupil, records his luckless engagement to a lady at Kennet, which entailed a ride of eighteen miles each way three times a week and the delivery of lectures in boots and spurs. It was expected that the tutor would succeed Dean Thomas as Master: but Barker was taken, and Parkinson retired in 1789 to Kegworth: he became Archdeacon of Leicester, and seems to have been deservedly popular. His colleague in the tutorship for many years was a very different man—Joh. Barlow Seale, Craven Scholar 1770 and second Medallist 1774, author of a work on Greek metres which held the field for a long time: he was contentious and generally disagreeable. Gunning says that he was a supporter of Isaac Milner, and implies that this had something to do with Milner's well-known decision in the matter of Stisted. Seale had been appointed to that living by Archbishop Cornwallis, whose chaplain he was: but he did not resign his Fellowship, though Stisted was far more than "viginti milliaria" from Cambridge in the ordinary acceptation of the rule respecting the tenure of a Fellowship by a beneficed clergyman. Milner said that the words meant thirty measured miles of eight furlongs each. He prudently gave no reasons for his decision. Even so, Stisted was beyond the limit by road. But Milner declared that the measurement was

to be by "a geometrical straight line" from the extreme limit of the precincts of the University (which extended a mile, or, according to his interpretation, a mile and a half beyond the furthest house) to the nearest point of the parish. That settled the business. Seale retained his Fellowship till he accepted the remote College living of Anstye (which he held with Stisted), and he died there at a great age in 1838, after "passing a good deal of his time in inferior society" (Gunning). It may be added that the question was brought a second time before the Visitor—Dr. Cory, in 1798—who confirmed Dr. Milner's decision.

The successors of Parkinson and Seale were men of smaller powers—Joh. Hopkins and Newton Cha. Lane, the latter a sporting parson, who "occasionally ran a horse himself" called Cribbage, and spent his old age in breeding horses at his Rectory of Ingoldsby, where (like Seale) he lived to a great age, dying in 1846. After him came a less reputable tutor, Tho. Browne, whose ill-deeds ripened in his Mastership.

Other Fellows of any note are few. A thoroughly worthy man was Adam Wall (1756-98), who lived and died (aged seventy) in College. He edited the University Statutes, and the *Ceremonies of the University* (afterwards re-edited by Gunning), and left behind him several MS. collections of considerable value relating to the University and the College, which now rest in the University Library. He also made an invaluable catalogue of all the old College documents. Cæsar Morgan (1775-76), Chaplain to Bishop Yorke, and Canon of Ely, published in 1795 an *Investigation of the Trinity, of Plato, and of Philo Judæus*, which has considerable merit, also several sermons, essays, and

poems, which have little. Hen. Will. Majendie (1776-85) was a "Proctor's Senior Optime," and therefore no longer appears in the Tripos list of 1776, wherein he once stood third Wrangler. He had the fortune to be appointed "Preceptor to Prince William" (Will. IV.) in 1781, and naturally rose to a Canonry of Windsor in 1785, and also to the Bishopric of Chester in 1800, and of Bangor (1809). That he had liberal views is proved by his establishment of a Sunday-school at one of his livings, when to do so was a mark of "enthusiasm"; and as a Bishop he was "for his time an active administrator" (Art. *D.N.B.*) For twenty-seven years after his election I find no Fellow who is now in any respect noteworthy.

Nor can it be said that the character of the College as a nurse of able men is redeemed by those who were not Fellows. The list is insignificant. Jos. Dacre Carlyle, admitted 1775, migrated to Queens', where he became a Fellow, and was appointed Professor of Arabic in 1795. Sir Busick Harwood, the bon-vivant Professor of Anatomy (admitted 1779), took his first medical degree at Christ's, but migrated to Emmanuel before 1790, according to Gunning, because he wished, under a changed régime, to belong to a more distinctively Tory College. Smithson Tennant (admitted 1782), as a Fellow-commoner, studied chemistry and physics with great success, and became F.R.S. in 1785. He then transferred himself to Emmanuel, and took his degrees there. He was Professor of Chemistry 1813-15. Gunning (ii. 60) tells a good story of his eccentric habits of packing for a journey, and also mentions his death by an accident at Boulogne in 1815. Will. Frend, whose trial before Is. Milner, Vice-Chancellor

in 1793, caused so much excitement in the University, was admitted here in 1775, and was second wrangler in 1780. He was elected soon afterwards to a Fellowship at Jesus. It would be out of place here to discuss the merits of the trial, which may perhaps be collected by balancing the accounts in Gunning (i. 280-308), and in Milner's *Life*. That Milner was very proud of having ruined "the Jacobinical party as a University thing" rests on his own statement (*Life*, p. 162); that "there never existed nor was supposed to exist such a party in the University" rests on Gunning's word, and I incline to believe him.

Joah Bates, of musical fame, was admitted here from Eton in 1759, and won the Craven Scholarship in 1760. But it was from King's that he took his degree in 1764. Another musician, John Randall, who graduated Mus.Bac. in 1744, is assigned to Christ's by C. H. Cooper, but I fancy by a confusion.

Ralph, the second Earl Verney, was a Fellow-commoner here in 1733, and M.A. in 1735. He was a friend of Burke, and fought many contested elections in the Whig interest; but he must have also had some scientific merit, as he was elected F.R.S. in 1758.

A curious appeal to the Visitor was made in 1772 by Joshua Wigley, who was Fellow from 1748 to 1774, and is called by C. H. Cooper "a great Biblical scholar." He complains that his statutable "preference" for the living of Moulton (to which the College appointed for the first time in 1772) had been disregarded. There are several pleadings of considerable merit: his own; one in his favour signed by Joh. Barker, Adam Wall, and Ri. Haighton; two against him, the first signed by seven Fellows (among whom are Shepherd,

Paley, Law, and Parkinson); the second by five out of the seven. These last papers are very ingenious, and seem to me to be Paley's work, from the evidence of argument and style. Dr. Wigley claimed that, under the Statute, a senior Fellow, of equal merit with a junior, is always to be preferred. But, as a College preacher, he expected to hold his Fellowship as well as his living (Moulton being within twenty miles), and so no vacancy would be created in the Society. The seven deny any absolute right in a senior to claim a living; but they base their refusal to present Wigley on a different and very characteristic ground. "We are ever ready," say they, "to present the senior to such livings as that of Moulton, upon condition of quitting his Fellowship." If he would not do that, such a presentation would be contrary to equity. "The living of Moulton, about which the dispute first arose, we allege, and are ready to prove, is worth £200 a year. The Fellowships of Christ's College are about £100 a year. Now, it contradicts the first sentiments of equity, and every idea of a fair distribution of College emoluments, to heap upon one member of it an income altogether above £300 a year, and by so doing disappoint another in the meantime of the most important object in the world—a competent establishment for life." Truly a very moving argument. They appeal to the practice of the College, and show that no one has ever taken a living such as Moulton without resigning his Fellowship, either voluntarily or as a condition of presentation. Here, at least, the seven were on strong ground. No decision of the Visitor is in existence. There may have been a compromise. One of the seven Fellows, Tho. Murrhall, who was senior to Wigley, had been insti-

tuted to Clipston in January 1772, but had not yet gone into residence. In June he was presented to Moulton, and Wigley in December to Clipston. So the Society got its vacancy without detriment to any senior.

It would appear that during residence each Fellow kept well in mind that a living was to be the real end of his life, diverted, we may hope, pleasantly by the uncertainty what that living might be. But he had a further diversion—the reckoning year by year fines on renewal of leases. If we might take the evidence of the Order-book alone, they had little else to do in Dr. Thomas's time, for hardly anything else appears there. The lessees seem to have regularly haggled over the fines; and so the fine for the same renewal reappears year after year, only increased by the lapse of time. Thus, in October 1769 fines are set for no less than ten leases, of which four had run the normal seven years out of twenty-one, three had run eight, two had run nine, and one fifteen. The whole sum came to £1,383 —enough to make an excellent dividend. But on four of these, including the three largest, nothing was paid. In that year, the largest (£564) was asked of Lord Leicester for South Creak and Quarles. He demurred. Then he died, and the trustee under his will commenced a suit. But nothing came of that. The fine remorselessly rose, till in 1774 it amounted to £1,174. A year later the fine and the expenses of the suit were £1,354 18^{s} 9^{d}. The College accepted £1,300, and the Fellows of that day reaped the benefit of the delay.

Addresses to the King on all possible occasions, and verses (to which the Laws—father and son—and Joah

Bates contributed), were still the order of the day. Indeed, the feeling and practice of the University are inimitably described in the words of the Address of 1763 on the peace of Fontainebleau: "It is with a peculiar satisfaction that your University of Cambridge embraces every opportunity of presenting themselves before your Majesty." Poor Jebb tried to nonplacet one Address—that of 1769—which assured the King that the University saw "with concern and abhorrence the evil designs of bad men" (Jebb and his friends). But he could get only one supporter.

One considerable work took place within the College —the casing with stone of the interior of the First Court, which completed the transformation of the building. It was done gradually during the years 1758 to 1769, under the direction of James Essex, the south side being taken first, then the library and gateway, and round by the north side to the Lodge and Hall. Some doubt seems to have been felt whether it was necessary to do the north side. The original aspect was altered within even more than without, for the battlements were replaced by a parapet, which, however, is decidedly effective. Pediments were placed over the doorways, and the tower was effectually "classicised." The cost was very considerable. That of the south side alone is given as £760: that of the remainder is included in a great number of bills to the different tradesmen. It was between £1,400 and £1,800.

In 1762 the advowson of Ringstead St. Andrew's was exchanged for that of Brisley, "as well in consideration of the nearness of the Rectory of Brisley to our Vicarage of Gately as because it is apprehended that the

Rectory of Brisley is of greater yearly value than the Rectory of Ringstead." These reasons are sound, but in all other respects the exchange was for the worse. About the end of the century the two adjacent livings were united, and Cha. Dix, who had been Vicar of Gately from 1750, in 1796 became Rector of Brisley as well. The lease of the Manor and Rectory of Gately, which had long been given to the Vicar to increase his stipend, was continued.

About 1760 the College began to reap the benefit of the disposition by Christopher Tancred of his property at Whixley in Yorkshire. Tancred had five sisters, but no son, and he could not bear that an estate "so compact in its situation, and so commodious by the improvements made at the expence and industry of himself and ancestors, should be dismembred by a distribution among heirs females." Accordingly, he endowed four students in Divinity at Christ's College, four in Physic at Caius, and four in Law at Lincoln's Inn; while Whixley Hall was to be maintained for ever for the residence of twelve "decayed and necessitated gentlemen," with a chaplain to minister to them, and servants to wait on them: and forty fallow-deer were to be kept in the park, surrounded by a stone wall, to be upheld for ever. He had made an endowment of the greater part of this charity by settlement as far back as 1721. A further endowment was made by his will in 1746. In 1754 he died. The "heirs females" not unnaturally contested the disposition of the property. But the Court of Chancery upheld the endowment, despite certain flaws—*e.g.*, the trustees were not a body corporate, and so could not have the necessary conveyances made to them; the

testator had provided for the wages of the servants to wait on the necessitated gentlemen, but nothing for their board; and so on. An Act of Parliament was passed in 1761 in order that "the charitable Donation so manifestly tending to the Encouragement of useful Knowledge and Learning, might be the better supported, managed, and continued." But alas for the vanity of human wills! The same Act gave to the Governors constituted by it power to "dispark" the said Whixley Park, to sell the fallow-deer, and to plough up the soil, in order to avoid any deficiency in the stipends; thus contravening Mr. Tancred's dispositions in a way which he would have keenly resented, his intention being clearly that no change whatever should be made in the domain to which he was genuinely, if inconsiderately, attached. However, "Tancred's Hospital," though somewhat shorn of its dignity, continued for more than a hundred years. Meanwhile the inmates, held together by no natural bond, spent their leisure in squabbling, and (it was said) gave a very bad example to the village. A record of a visitation in 1871 states that only three pensioners were left, of whom two did not speak to each other. By a new Act of 1872, confirming a scheme of the Charity Commissioners, the Hospital ceased to be used as a residence for pensioners, and was let to augment the income of the Trust. Out-pensioners were to be appointed, with a fixed stipend, free to reside where they pleased. Probably the new scheme does not do much harm. The studentships still continue. In prosperous days the income sufficed to pay £100 a year to each of five (instead of four) students at each of the three places of education. Even now it

suffices to pay four students somewhat more than £70 apiece.

The longest law-suit which the College has ever known began in 1767. It dragged on in different forms till 1805, when every one of those who saw the commencement had passed away, save one—the octogenarian Master, John Barker, who died a few years later. It was a most complicated suit. The evidence has to be drawn from a few College Orders, from two drawers and a large-sized trunk full of unsorted papers, and an abstract of the pleadings in the earlier stage made by Adam Wall, which, however, does not throw much light upon it. In 1765 the College had given a lease to Anthony Shepherd of the moiety of the Rectory of Burnham Westgate—the tithes and twenty-five acres of land. The Rector, one Bryan Allot, refused to pay Shepherd his share. Consequently, a bill was filed in Chancery in 1767, in which the complainants were the College and Dr. Shepherd, and the defendants Mr. Allot and the patron of the living, Pinkney Wilkinson, who, according to Allot, was the occupant of the twenty-five acres, which were indistinguishable amidst his other property. It was arranged that Dr. Shepherd should appear in the suit, and if, after paying the College his rent of £23 a year, he received sufficient from glebe and tithes, he was to defray the costs. This agreement, entered upon in the light-hearted belief that the suit would be brief, naturally led to misunderstanding between the parties when it lasted for more than a generation. Messrs. Allot and Wilkinson seem to have been not wholly of one mind: and so the original quarrel developed into many side-issues. The essence of the defence was that

the twenty-five acres could not be identified: and there were the usual charges of ploughing up landmarks. The complication was augmented by the fact that in Burnham there were, or had been, seven parishes, and most of those seven were divided into "medieties," which had again been regrouped in a manner which was too much for the memory of the "oldest inhabitant." By 1774 all parties were ready for arbitration: but it seems to have led to no result. By 1780 the costs occupy a large place in the Orders. Dr. Shepherd seems to have employed as lawyer one Solomon Fell—one yearns to "spell it with a P"—and £600 was needed to pay his bill, as well as £500 more for "necessary expenses." This was too much for the College, which employed henceforth its own lawyer. By this time some decision must have been arrived at, for there is mention in the Orders of arrears and costs due from Allot, and costs from Wilkinson, who disappears henceforth from the fray. Then the College and Dr. Shepherd had their turn. Mr. Fell brought in a "subsequent bill," which the College agreed to pay if Dr. Shepherd would sign certain "articles of agreement," and surrender his lease, and also make Fell give up certain College papers in his possession. But the main business was far from its end. Apparently the glebe question was settled, but Allot still contested the tithes. In 1782 comes the despairing Order: "The Master or Mr. Mapletoft, or either, empowered to settle and conclude the dispute between the College and Mr. Allot." In 1784 the Master is to employ any solicitor he likes. In 1785 there is a "Committee to manage the suit." In 1795 Dr. Shepherd was dead, and the seal was put to an indenture between the

College and his executors. In 1800 one "Whishaw" was to be applied to, that he should "take the whole management of the suit." In 1804 the heroic Allot was dead, as is not surprising, insolvent, and Mr. Browne was appointed to "treat with Mr. Glasse (the new rector, who apparently was desirous of arising as Allot's avenger) respecting the moiety belonging to the College; also (with Mr. Whishaw, Mr. Wilson the College solicitor, and the executors of Dr. Shepherd) to treat with the executors of Allot on the subject of arrears." Fortunately Mr. Allot left a wealthy brother, the Dean of Raphoe, who offered in compensation £800. How much the College had spent is nowhere summed up: but I can trace lawyers' bills which certainly belong to this case amounting to £2,311, and a series of bills to a Mr. Case (amounting to £338) I think belong to the earlier stages. Interest on the bonds raised to pay these bills came to not less than £200. As late as 1812 two further payments, amounting to £318, are made to Messrs. Wilson and Chisholme under the same head. The Dean's offer was accepted, and in October 1805, the £800 having been received, the seal was set to an agreement between the College and the executors of Anthony Shepherd, on the one part, and the executrix of Bryan Allot on the other. The College—alone—never dies! One bill in 1804 was sufficient for Mr. Glasse: and in 1808, when even John Barker was dead, Glasse had his reward in receiving a lease from the College for the time of his incumbency. An interlude near the end of this ghastly tragi-comedy was the purchase in 1806 of the advowson of Burnham from Lord Grenville for £1,650.

On 22 July 1780 John Barker succeeded Dean Thomas

as Master of Christ's. He was a Northumberland man "of shopkeeping parents" (Cole), and was tenth Wrangler in 1745. He held in turn the College livings of Bourne (1763-73), of Caldecote (1772-85), and of Brisley, as the first nominee of the College (1786-88). In 1778 he was a candidate for the Registraryship, when Geo. Borlase was elected; as Barker had 102 votes against 118 for his opponent, he had some credit in the University. Cole says that "he stood on the Interest of the warm Whigs and Americans: I speak thus, because I heard him defending their rebellious practices in 1777." He served as Vice-Chancellor 1780, the earliest possible time. He was Rector of Waddington, Lincs, to which (according to Dr. Doncaster, who held for many years the neighbouring Rectory of Navenby) he was presented by Mr. Pitt. J. B. Seale, when a Junior Fellow and Lecturer, used to warn his class against acquiring bad habits by the example of the Master, who, by chewing tobacco, rendered himself unfit for decent society; Cole calls him "a rough Blade, of no great Decency." There were three candidates for the Mastership—Barker, Anthony Shepherd (who was senior and very hostile to Barker), and Tho. Parkinson, who was twenty years his junior, "an ingenious Coxcombe, but too young to be Master of a College." Both Shepherd and Parkinson retired. Cole suggests that the former, who "is my old acquaintance, may have settled matters so as not to be molested in his Fellowship," on the score of his canonry of Windsor.

Cole afterwards records that Barker had become D.D. by Royal mandate, "so that Patriots and Republicans, who clamour at the Royal Prerogative, are willing enough to receive benefit of it themselves which show

their clamour is interest." Dr. Barker supported Dr. Milner in the expulsion of Frend, which might have given Cole a better opinion of him had he lived to know it. The University Poll Lists show that the College was slightly inclined to Whiggery; by 1815 the balance had shifted. Dr. Barker died 18 February 1808, aged eighty-two; his wife Hannah died two days later, aged eighty; they were buried together on the same day in the south-west corner of the antechapel.

Only the slightest reference to the great events of the time can be picked up in any College record. In 1776 £10 was given to "the American clergy." A gift of £5 in 1781 for rebuilding churches in the West Indies is due, I think, only to a hurricane. But in 1792 £10 was given to the French clergy, and ten guineas more to the French refugees next year. In 1794 there was a subscription of £25 for augmenting the county militia; and in 1795 £25 15^{s} 6^{d} was our share toward the "Seamen's Bounty." In 1797 five guineas were given to the widows and orphans of the men killed in Admiral Duncan's fleet. The contribution of the College in 1798 toward the general fund for the defence of the country was £200, the Master adding £200 out of his own purse; the University gave £1,050, and King's, Trinity, and John's each £525.

The number of men at the College during the last twenty years of the century was never large, but it fell in the first decade of the new one: from 1801-10 inclusive the average number was just under nine in each year; from 1811 they increase, very markedly in and after 1815, when the rush of young men into the army ceased, and not a few exchanged the sword for the gown. Some of those admitted earlier did not remain

From a photograph by] THE LIBRARY [*J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

Plate VII

long; Dearing Jones, son of the long-lived Rector of Navenby, went at once into the army; Cuthbert Ellison, of Hebburn, Durham, who had been at Harrow, also went off to wage war with the "pernicies communis orbis terrarum," Napoleon Buonaparte. Others had other reasons: Ri. Green came from Sussex in 1785, "sed viso Euclide cohorruit et evasit" (an entry due to J. B. Seale); against him may be set John Grebenschikoff, a Professor at Cronstadt, who came in 1786 to England "ut philosophiam Newtonianam felicius perdisceret." No man of any note meets us on the list of Fellows till 1802, when Peter Lovett Fraser appears, an Irishman of much learning, humour, and energy. Crabb Robinson (*Diary*, i. 291) tells how Fraser wrote the great leaders for the *Times*, "the flash articles which made a noise," after dinner, "in Walter's parlour." Robinson says that he would probably have thought it a degradation to be known as a writer for a newspaper, but that he was "a prime adviser and friend." He was a Fellow of the College from 1802-32, but was, I think, little in residence. In 1831 he was presented to Kegworth, which he held till his death in 1852. He left to the College his admirable library.

In 1804 there was elected a better-known man, John Kaye (to be described later as Master of the College), followed by Geo. Davys in 1806. Davys seems never to have been permanently in residence, holding different cures, and vacating his Fellowship in 1814, by his marriage with the daughter of the Rector of Anstye, Edw. Mapletoft. In 1827 he was entrusted with the education of the Princess Victoria, and retained it till her accession in 1837. In 1839 he was made Bishop of Peterborough, where he spent the rest of his life, and

died in April 1864. His *Village Conversations* on the liturgy and offices of the Church of England had some vogue; but though an earnest fair-minded man he was not in the front rank even of the Bishops of that day.

Among the few other noteworthy men of Barker's time was Basil Montagu (admitted 1786, and fifth Wrangler in 1790), the second son of John, Lord Sandwich, and of Martha Ray. In early life a friend of Wordsworth and Coleridge, he afterwards became a devoted student of Bacon, whose works he edited in sixteen volumes between 1825 and 1837. He was a voluminous writer, chiefly on legal points: the law of bankruptcy, of copyright, of partnership, etc. He was Commissioner in Bankruptcy 1835-46. He resided in College for nine years, and was famous for his eccentricity. Gunning tells how he was at times a total abstainer from intoxicating drink (in later life he abjured animal food as well); then he gave great entertainments "till wine and credit were exhausted; then he had a studious fit for many weeks, during which time he rarely stirred beyond the College gates." Once he and a friend started on foot, carrying in turns a Stilton cheese, to catch the coach to the north at Huntingdon (*Reminiscences*, i. 159). In later life he played a great part in literary society in London. He died in 1851 at Boulogne, aged eighty-two.

Another interesting man was Sir James Hall, admitted several years before Montagu. The son of Sir John Hall of Dunglas, he succeeded his father as Baronet in 1776, and entered himself at Christ's in the following year. He was an enthusiastic student of geology, and a friend of Hutton and of Playfair, though not in agreement with all Hutton's views. He

visited Switzerland, Italy, and Sicily in the pursuit of knowledge, and possibly it was during his travels that he developed the taste which led to the book on the *Origin, History, and Principles of Gothic Architecture*, published in 1813, but developed out of an earlier essay in 1797. He was a man of varied interests; he was President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and sat in Parliament from 1807 to 1812. He died at Edinburgh in 1832.

There is evidence that this College was no better—it may have been no worse—than other Colleges in the matter of sobriety. Gunning, writing of the early days of this period, when he was an undergraduate, speaks of drunkenness as "almost universal," and his account of an orgie in Christmas week in the Combination Room seems barely credible. Otter, in his *Life of Edw. Dan. Clarke* (the leader in the classical exploration of the day, who was B.A. in 1790) records as a special virtue that Clarke was averse to the "excess of drinking which was the prevailing vice of the place and of the day." The records which we have generally refer to days of possibly exceptional festivity, and it may be hoped that it was not the daily habit of the Fellows to spend the whole afternoon after an early dinner in drinking till the time came for supper.* Things were no better in 1805 when John (the future Lord) Campbell visited Christ's to be present at the rejoicings over the Fellowship election of John Grisdale (second Wrangler 1802), when there was "such a drinking bout as I have seldom witnessed: each man must have had above two bottles": and several of the Fellows continued reeling through the

* In a paper in the *Idler* the fashionable young man at Cambridge drinks from 2 to 4, and sups at 7.

streets for a great part of the night. We may believe that John Kaye, elected Fellow 1804, was not of the number. When Campbell came down again in 1811 he was impressed rather by the luxury than by the debauchery of the College; he dined with Kaye, then tutor, and says that he had "seldom seen in any private house a more elegant dinner or supper, or things conducted in better style than Kaye presented to us in his College rooms." But when he dined in Trinity, "after partaking of a sumptuous dinner, which began at three, we retired with the Fellows to the combination-room, where we sat soaking port till eight or nine. Cards were then introduced, and the entertainment concluded with a magnificent supper." It is surprising—but satisfactory as showing that the undergraduates were somewhat better than their teachers—that Campbell was much struck by the "ardour and assiduity with which study is pursued at this place," where some of the students "fag in a manner almost entirely unknown at St. Andrew's, or even at Edinburgh"; he attributes it to the emulation produced by the scholarships and Fellowships, and he clearly doubts whether it lasted longer than the attainment of the goal. Still, "my sons shall *all* go to Cambridge," writes that long-headed Scot. Gunning's narrative gives a less exalted idea of the work done at Christ's; but he declares that "nothing could be more unexceptionable" than the suppers given at eight, "several every night," in the students' rooms. It seems that supper in Hall had been discontinued, and the men combined to sup together, each ordering what he pleased from the "sizing bill"; the host furnished bread, butter, cheese, and beer, but no wine; but he prepared punch, which was kept hot in a teapot

"supplied by the bedmakers, who charged according to the size."

During the last years of Dr. Barker the management of the affairs of the College was chiefly in the hands of Tho. Browne, to whose history we now come. He was a Lancashire man, B.A. in 1786. He was a good man of business, and in finance he was before his time; he first conceived the idea of abolishing beneficial leases: and in 1809 he induced the Society to refuse to renew the Diseworth lease: but in 1816, when Browne was no longer Master, the College reverted to the old easy and uneconomic plan. According to Gunning, he was a man of very agreeable manners and popular with all the Fellows, except Seale and Lane, neither of whom had any weight in the Society, probably through their defects of character. Geo. Hunter, who stood between them, was an able man, and was expected to succeed Dr. Barker; but he died suddenly in College in 1796, aged thirty-five. From that time Browne's election, though deferred for twelve years, was certain. He was less popular in the University. Gunning relates some of the causes; another matter on which he is silent was brought up against Browne eight years later, when he was Master and a candidate for the Vice-Chancellorship. Browne had induced the tutor of St. Catharine's to admit A., a member of another College, without a proper *bene discessit.* It was alleged that Browne suppressed facts which he heard from A.'s original tutor; there may have been a misunderstanding, but I confess that my impression that Browne behaved disingenuously is strongest after reading his own defence; there was a war of pamphlets. Be that as it may, the tale was circulated privately in 1809, and on the day of elec-

tion Is. Milner of Queens' was elected Vice-Chancellor a second time after a short but sharp contest. Browne charged Geo. C. Renouard, a Fellow of Sidney, with having given a slanderous account of the matter in the Senate House, and brought an action against him in the King's Bench. But Milner claimed the case for his own Court, not, he says (*Life*, p. 424), *proprio motu*, but because Renouard, who desired the change, could not act unless the Vice-Chancellor came forward. Milner was successful, and in an address at the close of his office, he takes great credit for maintaining the privileges of the University. He gave Browne notice that he would hear his case, but Browne, on the advice (he says) of his lawyer, did not appear, and the matter dropped. There was a lively war of pamphlets (see Z. 23, 7, in the Univ. Library), and Milner charged Browne with grossly misrepresenting him, and with abusing the Heads as "liable to be warped by Prejudice and Partiality." In 1810 Browne was not a candidate for the Vice-Chancellorship; but in 1811 he was elected, I think, without opposition, and he seems to have served the office creditably. His next difficulties were with his College, and the narrative of them, which cannot be easily condensed, will be found in Gunning (ii. 226-64). Quite briefly it may be said that his ascendancy over the Society had become absolute, and no inquiry was ever made except by Maul, the senior tutor, into his management of the property. He lived largely at Bourne, and occupied himself in the enclosure of the parish. He obtained for Gunning a lease of the farm and the great tithes on terms unknown to the Society, but absolutely ruinous to the lessee, who had been induced by Browne to sink large sums in the drainage

of the farm. The Fellows had begun to be suspicious of Browne, the more so as they never received any rent from Bourne: and their suspicions were confirmed by conversations with Gunning. At the Lady Day Audit 1813 it appeared that more than £1,000 had been brought to account as paid by the Master which had not been paid at all—bills to tradesmen, the "Bourne pension" to Hopkins, etc. The Fellows appealed to the Visitor: and in the inquiries made to support the appeal they discovered that Browne had been guilty of gross immorality at Bourne. Led by Maul and Kaye, the two tutors, they now pressed for his ejection from the Mastership. The evidence was ample, and in August 1814 he ceased to be Master. The Society behaved very liberally by him; they did not press for the large sum which he owed the College on the balance of accounts—£1,217 17^{s} 10^{d}, according to the award of the Visitor—though the new Master had to borrow in his first year £1,000 to meet the ordinary expenses of the College, and £2,000 more in the following year. When the Bishop of Norwich requested a copy of the Visitor's sentence, in order that he might refuse him institution to Gorleston, to which he was presented by one of the Astleys, they replied that their dispute with the late Master was of a private nature. Browne died Vicar of Gorleston in 1832.

The war between the Master and the Fellows in 1813 had some episodes which have survived in story. The Master could declare a Fellowship vacant for non-residence, though whether he could legally do it alone was disputed; the arbitrary action of the Master had often been disallowed by the Visitor, and non-residence had long been common, as is plain from the accounts

and Order-books. Still, by Statute he had general powers, and this power was a weapon which gave him considerable opportunity for annoyance. Dr. Browne availed himself of it, and Jos. Shaw used in his latter days to tell tales of the "year of captivity," as with some exaggeration he called it. Gunning records how Fraser, according to his habit, was absent with friends near Ware on one snowy Sunday in January, when it occurred to him that the Master was likely to call a meeting and take action on his non-appearance. He rode back promptly, and reached Cambridge by midnight. He found that Dr. Browne had called a meeting for eight o'clock on Monday morning. On Fraser's unexpected arrival the meeting was dismissed. Archdeacon Cheetham was told by Shaw a similar tale. Another Fellow was in Suffolk when he received a special message advising his return. Without delay he rode through the night to Cambridge, and disappointed the Master as Fraser had done.

CHAPTER IX

REFORM

Masters: John Kaye, 1814-30; John Graham, 1830-48; Joseph Shaw, 1849; James Cartmell, 1849-81; Charles Anthony Swainson, 1881-87; John Peile, 1887

Browne's successor, John Kaye, was a man of remarkable attainments. In 1804 he was Senior Wrangler, Smith's Prizeman, and first Chancellor's Medallist. He succeeded to a Fellowship before he was twenty-one, through the cession of J. E. Finch-Hatton, "in order that the College might have the opportunity of electing one whose abilities must be considered as a source of real advantage to it." At the age of thirty-one he was unanimously elected Master. In 1816 he became Regius Professor of Divinity; in 1820 Bishop of Bristol, retaining, however, his Professorship by the wish of Lord Liverpool, who appointed him. He resided at Clifton in the Long Vacation only: this was considered sufficient, the diocese consisting only of the city of Bristol and the county of Dorset. In 1827 he was transferred to Lincoln, and resided chiefly at

Buckden, an old palace of the great Lincoln see, not far from Cambridge. In 1830 he resigned the Mastership.

He deserves grateful mention as the reviver of patristic study at Cambridge. He actually gave lectures, and apologized for doing what neither Bentley nor Watson had done. They had not found it necessary, he said, because books could supply what was needed. Lectures were now regarded as the most efficient mode of teaching: therefore he lectured. His published work, though not remarkable for depth, has stood the test of time.*

The College was full in his days, but the popular tutor, Jos. Shaw, probably has the credit rather than the Master. Between 1815 and 1828 he had about 400 pupils, on an average thirty a year—an enormous list compared with those of his predecessors for more than a century. Their distinction, if we may judge from the Tripos lists, was small. Shaw was generally to be seen at Newmarket on racing days, and many of his pupils followed him there,† as has been put on record by one admitted in 1827, Charles Darwin. But "the man who walked with Henslow" did not spend his time at Cambridge quite unprofitably. The Fellows were not all of the tutor's type. One was Alex. Cha. Louis D'Arblay, Fanny Burney's son, an original

* An edition in eight volumes was brought out twelve years ago by his surviving son, Archdeacon Kaye.

† An old gyp of the College used to tell that when he was young he had seen a number of men in scarlet coats riding round the First Court. In other respects the undergraduates aped the manners of the day. On 9 May 1818 'Cheslyn and Jackson were rusticated for two years, the former for sending a challenge to Wetherby, the latter for being the bearer.'

member of the Analytical Society—to which Woodhouse, Peacock, Babbage, and Herschel belonged—founded (according to Babbage's witty description) "to advocate the principles of pure *d*-ism against the *dot*-age of the University." Another was Edw. Baines, a man of much culture and ability; one of the old Liberal school at Cambridge, the school of Rose, Thirlwall, Peacock, and Sedgwick, which had no connexion with Evangelical doctrine or practice, and was influential before the great High Church movement.* Other members of the College were Ra. Bernal, the politician and art-collector; and Will. Hen. West Betty, "the young Roscius," who, after his season of fame on the stage, resided here three years as a Fellow-commoner, but took no degree; Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart, the ardent supporter of Poland from 1831 to 1854; Rob. Joh. Smith, afterwards Lord Carrington; Will., Lord Petre; Joh. Neville, third Earl of Abergavenny; Will., ninth Duke of St. Albans. A man of mark in natural science was Miles Jos. Berkeley, "the father of British fungology," and for more than sixty years the active priest of divers country parishes. In 1883 the College exercised its newly-acquired power by electing him one of its first Honorary Fellows.

The embarrassment in which Dr. Browne left the College was perhaps the cause of the retention of the bad system of beneficial leases which Browne tried to abolish. But £2,600 was set apart from the great Diseworth fine to pay off the loans which had been necessary. Prosperity soon returned. In 1818 the weekly payment of a scholar was raised to 12^{s}, and

* See Bishop Barry's preface to an interesting volume of Baines' *Sermons to Country Congregations*.

then to 15^{s} a week. In 1825 a Fellow's allowance for residence was raised from 3^{s}—the amount which had been paid for two centuries—to 15^{s} 6^{d}. At the same time it was agreed to give annually £150 out of the unclaimed scholarships to the three scholars most distinguished in the College examinations. This introduced for the first time the principle of payment for merit so tested.

In 1823-25 the College was able to build twenty-one sets of rooms on the south side of the Second Court. The cost was £7,438 19^{s} 10^{d}, a very large sum for work which intrinsically and architecturally is the worst in the College. No architect was employed, and the builder copied unintelligently the older buildings. The Master and Fellows gave £986, of which the Master and Shaw each contributed £200. Most of the remainder was borrowed, and repaid by 1834.

Dr. Kaye had started no great reforms. Probably more was expected of his successor, John Graham, elected over some of his seniors in 1830 to be Master of a (reputedly) "radical" Society. Like Kaye, Graham had won high distinction in the University—he was fourth Wrangler and Chancellor's Medallist in 1816. Like him, also, he was elected Fellow under peculiar circumstances. The Fellowship of John Doncaster—for many years Headmaster of Oakham—was vacant in 1815 by his appointment to Navenby; and it was desired to elect Graham. But Graham was still an undergraduate: so the Society elected in May 1815 Tho. Jackson, of St. John's, Norrisian Professor of Divinity, who was not, however, admitted. On 1 April 1816 it was "announced" at a College meeting that he declined to be admitted: so his Fellowship lapsed.

Graham was elected on April 5. Perhaps the College might more appropriately have secured the help of the Professor of Casuistry.

It must long have been evident to all, and even moderate men were beginning to say publicly, that the Statutes, both of the University and the Colleges, had become inapplicable or unsuitable to the present time. The practice of the University in most important matters was irreconcilable with the Elizabethan Statutes by which it was still supposed to be governed—*e.g.*, the disputations in the schools had been tacitly displaced by examinations. Dean Peacock's *Observations on the Statutes of the University*, published 1841, mark an era in the history of reform. The changes therein suggested for the reform both of the University and the Colleges have now been largely adopted. Graham's attempt at this College was still earlier. In 1837 a draft of a new body of Statutes was made, and on 24 February 1838 an order was signed by the Master and ten Fellows (including Shaw, Baines, and Ja. Cartmell, the future Master) that a petition for the substitution of these Statutes should be presented to the Queen. I cannot find any copy of the proposed Statutes,* but they seem to have permitted the marriage of Fellows, and some participation in College emoluments by persons not members of the Church of England. There was also a curious proposal that Divine service should be held on Sundays only in the College chapel, but that on every weekday morning

* My knowledge of them is derived chiefly from a copy of notes made at the time by Dr. Corrie (afterwards Master of Jesus College), courteously placed at my disposal by the authoress of Dr. Corrie's *Life*. Edm. Mortlock took counsel with him.

there should be prayers in the Hall, in which persons of all creeds could join. The opposition was led by Edm. Mortlock, who was second on the list of Fellows, and by Ja. Hildyard, then M.A. of less than two years' standing, a man of great ability and energy, who was generally hostile to Graham's reforms.* They appealed to the Visitor, on the ground that the Visitor should have been consulted before the petition was presented. After much contention between Dr. Worsley (who seems to have been well disposed) and his assessors, a decree was sent which enjoined the Society to abstain from all attempt at alteration of the Statutes without consulting the Visitor. Mortlock, therefore, was successful, and Dr. Corrie characteristically assured him that he had not lived in vain. He had postponed for a generation the reforms to which he most objected. He lived to see the Act for the Abolition of Tests, but not the Statutes of 1882. Dr. Corrie survived to see both.

Dr. Graham was chaplain to the Prince Consort, and chairman of his committee at the election to the Chancellorship in 1847. To these things he was said to owe the Bishopric of Chester, to which he was appointed in 1848. He did not lose his connexion with Cambridge. He was a leading member of the University Commission of 1850, and he saw the Statutes of 1860 in full operation. At one of his latest appearances he preached

* It should be said that he was not opposed to all change. He was one of the assailants of private tuition—a matter which caused strong feeling in the University for many years—and he introduced into the College a compromise; he had additional assistance given for a small fee. Both at Cambridge and in his country rectory he devoted himself to liturgical reform. His *Ingoldsby Letters* on the subject reached a third edition in five years.

the sermon at the installation of the Duke of Devonshire in 1862.

The vacancy of the Mastership in the early days of 1849 had a strange issue. The Society was still divided against itself, chiefly on political grounds, and it was no easy matter to elect a Master. Hildyard, who had lately left for Ingoldsby, had claims both as a scholar and an educator: and he had strong support: but others trusted neither his temper nor his judgment. His quondam ally Mortlock, who had gone to Moulton, was generally respected as a high-principled and good man: and the choice seemed to lie between these two, for Cartmell's politics made him obnoxious to Hildyard's supporters. The only person on whom the opponents could unite was Shaw. He was then about sixty-four years of age, and had been through life an easygoing man; and he can hardly have desired the office to which he was elected on January 12. The seclusion of the Lodge proved intolerable to one whose home for forty-two years had been the Combination Room. On February 2 he resigned, and became (as with the consent of the Society he statutably could) Senior Fellow again. Strangely enough, in December 1852 he accepted the living of Kegworth, and was duly instituted. On 1 February 1853 he resigned it, retaining (again by consent) his Fellowship, which was not yet statutably vacant. He tried no further change till his death in August 1859, when, after holding his Fellowship for fifty-two years, he was laid in the antechapel. In his latter years he was a vigilant guardian of the College grass. I can remember the excitement caused by the discovery of a daisy in it. He left the College by will £3,000.

A characteristic feature in the College records of the first half of this century is the expenditure on the improvement of College livings. This was not a new thing. Grants had been made long before for the improvement of parsonage houses; leases of land or of tithes, as at Gately, had been granted at a nominal rent; sometimes land was purchased to be so let. But all this was now done more systematically and on a larger scale. The conception of the relation of livings to the College had altered with time. I have already told how some of our livings came into our patronage. Fen Drayton had been given to God's House that the Master might have a needful training ground, "that he might both minister his cure and rule his College." Helpston was given for the sustentation of the College, with an obligation to provide adequately for the cure of souls there. Other small cures came as burdens to be discharged, together with the enjoyment of large estates, as Hapton and Ringstead with the lands of Creak Abbey, Croxton with Bromhill Priory. Probably the Foundress regarded the service of Kegworth and of Sutton Bonington as some equivalent for the revenues of Diseworth. Somewhat later the College received or purchased advowsons of places where it had no temporal interest, in order that the theological attainments acquired at Cambridge might have a field for their employment. So Dr. Hawford gave us Clipston, Dr. More gave Ingoldsby, Dr. Honywood Anstye. But in the eighteenth century there are signs of a more worldly view. The living was looked on as the natural conclusion of the career which began with the scholarship and continued with the Fellowship. It was the last stage in the life of the successful student, presumably the

longest, and certainly the most important. So the "improvement of preferment," as it was called, was constantly present to the mind of the anticipant. Livings were to be made more attractive, not only to produce a "rapid succession," but also to provide suitably for men whose income as Fellows had far exceeded that of their predecessors, and who therefore needed a better pension. Thus £1,040 was given for a farm at Anstye, and £1,625 for a farm at Moulton, the object in each case being to grant a lease on easy terms to the Rector. In the nineteenth century, in addition to other expenditure, we find large grants made for the building of new rectory houses—always on the appointment of a new Rector, on condition that he himself spent at least as much more. No doubt the old houses were inadequate, and almost all were replaced in a style suited to the grander ideas of the day. Now most of them are too large for the reduced income. One of them—Toft Rectory—has been sold, and a new one built on a smaller scale. It may be added that in 1841 the rectory of Elmley Lovett, in Worcestershire, was purchased for £3,320, exclusive of costs. That is the last living which the College bought; it will probably remain so.

Under Dr. Cartmell, who succeeded to the Mastership without opposition on the resignation of Mr. Shaw in 1849, the College was unanimous in the desire for reform. New Statutes were again drafted, and on 11 October 1853 it was agreed to present a petition to the Queen for their adoption. But the Law Officers of the Crown practically declined to grant the facilities required on the ground that, as action was now imminent, it was better that all the Colleges should be dealt with together.

But much could be done without new Statutes; and by a series of Orders extending over about six years the internal economy of the College was reorganized. Still more important was the improvement in College finance brought about by the systematic non-renewal of the beneficial leases already mentioned. This involved some sacrifice from time to time, as the Society gave up the greater part of the usual fines on renewal; and very heavy expense was necessary on the estates as they severally fell in, which the improved rack-rents could scarcely have met. Fortunately, about 1863, it was discovered that the College land at Malton and Whaddon contained large beds of coprolites; and during the next twenty years more than £21,500 was received from this unexpected source, which enabled the College not only to meet its liabilities, but also to purchase land in places where it already owned property. On the other hand, lands at Anmer and North Creak, mixed up in strips with estates belonging to other owners, were sold to them much to our advantage. From 1872 to 1878 the College was very prosperous. In 1873 a self-denying ordinance was passed that a Fellows' dividend in any year should not exceed £300. But even in 1876 there were signs that the high rents then paid could not much longer be maintained. In 1879 a general abatement was necessary, and the dividend fell to £260. We did not realize that there were to be days yet more evil. Dr. Cartmell saw only the first clouds of coming trouble. He died—we might say "felix opportunitate mortis"—in January 1881. No Master devoted himself more completely to the College, or managed its affairs more prudently. Called to govern at a critical time, he was equal to the occasion. He also served the

University well as chairman of the Press Syndicate. During his Mastership the organ in the chapel was reconstructed (1865), and a musical service was made once more possible. The Hall was also practically rebuilt in 1875-78 (see p. 31).

The College showed considerable liberality when the question of provision for the teaching of natural science in the University arose in 1854. On June 3 it agreed to give £500 toward the building of the New Museums, if a sufficient sum should be subscribed before the end of the year. That did not happen. On 12 February 1855 it offered (on similar conditions) to give £1,000 in three years from the commencement of the work. But again its liberality cost it nothing. Fifteen years later, when a syndicate was appointed to obtain contributions from the Colleges for University purposes, the Society expressed its willingness to subscribe, but expressed a preference for the further endowment of Professors by College Fellowships.

The effects of the Statutes of 1860 on the position of the Fellows may be briefly stated. Non-residence was explicitly recognised, but any Fellow might be called into residence by the Master if he deemed it necessary in the interest of the College. Five Fellows might be laymen for life—*i.e.*, two Lady Margaret Fellows, in addition to the King Edward Fellow, and the two Finch and Baines Fellows.* But a Fellow who held a Clerical Fellowship was not required to take Orders till six years had passed from the time when he was of standing for the M.A. degree; he might therefore hold his Fellow-

* The income of the Finch and Baines foundation was merged in the general revenue, and the Fellows were placed on the same footing as those of the old foundation.

ship for a period varying from six to nine years without any intention of taking Orders.* Thus, there might be at any time a large number of Fellows not engaged either in College work or in the cure of souls (as by the old Statutes a non-resident Fellow was commonly required to be), but holding what were commonly called "Prize-Fellowships," to which no duties were attached either statutably or by public opinion, given simply as a reward for a good place in a Tripos Examination. On the other hand, employment in College gave no right of permanent tenure to any holder of a Clerical Fellowship who did not take Orders within the specified time. Marriage vacated a Fellowship, unless the holder were a Professor.

The Prize-Fellow is the most characteristic product of the Statutes of 1860. With the abolition of the old restrictions, the conception of the nature and duties of a Fellowship was also changed. It was pointed out as the great glory of the new system, that now (all county restrictions, and almost all school restrictions, being abolished) an able boy from any part of England, though destitute of money or friends, might have reasonable expectations that through a Fellowship he could have maintenance sufficient to enable him to achieve success in the public service or at the Bar, and ultimately in Parliament. But, if we grant that this is the proper end of such an endowment, a life-Fellowship was more than was needed; a limited tenure was sufficient to give its holder a start in life.

While the Prize-Fellow was unduly fostered, there was little encouragement given to a Fellow to take up

* For several years only two of the fifteen Fellows were in Orders.

education as a profession. Some educational duties had been imposed by the original Statutes on all Regent-Masters; and though these had been long abrogated, it was not denied that education was a primary function of at least some Fellows of a College. It was surely desirable that this work should be in the hands of teachers trained by special study rather than of men who were merely occupying their leisure while they waited for a College living. It was doubtless thought that something was done in this direction by giving two more Lay Fellowships; to do more was probably a greater break with the past than could be expected. Indeed, the Statutes of 1860 belong to a time of transition. It was inevitable that they should be superseded by those of 1882; which removed the obligation to Holy Orders, but limited the tenure to six years, with a prolongation to those who were engaged in University or College work, or in research; which also by allowing marriage opened a career for life to a successful teacher at Cambridge. It is not maintained that there are no drawbacks to the present system; but it may at least be pointed out that under it almost the whole body of Fellows has become, as of old, resident and actively employed. The development of University studies has increased the teaching work of each College; it has fostered independent research, and (what is a mixed blessing) it has created in the University a number of badly-paid teaching-posts, which can be held with least inconvenience by men who have the support of a Fellowship. Thus, though the Prize Fellowship still exists, it has been almost superseded by a use of the endowment much more akin to the spirit of the original foundation.

In one important respect the Christ's Statutes of 1882

differed from those of (I think) almost all the other Colleges. If Fellows became permanent while they were performing certain work, and (after sufficient work had been done) could claim their Fellowship as a pension for life, it was obvious that all Fellowships might in time be occupied by working or pensioned Fellows, and so vacancies might become exceedingly rare. This difficulty was met by the following provision: the Society was divided into two bodies of Fellows, Senior and Junior, the first not to exceed two-thirds of the whole. A Junior Fellow (whatever his work might be) lapsed at the end of six years from election; but if during that time he was elected a Senior, as doing some specified work, he could retain his Senior Fellowship so long as he was engaged in that work, and eventually could retain it as a pension. By this arrangement it was certain that there would be at least five elections to a Junior Fellowship in any period of six years, a rate quite equal to the average rate of former years. As an offset, the College ran the risk of occasionally losing a valuable teacher at the end of six years—a loss, however, which has not yet occurred.

The University Statutes of 1882 necessitated a reorganization of the method of the College accounts. This burden fell on Cha. Ant. Swainson, Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, and a high authority on the history of the Creeds and Liturgies, who succeeded Dr. Cartmell as Master in February 1881. He brought to the task considerable knowledge of finance, derived from long experience at Chichester, where he was a Prebendary for twenty-five years. He had much anxious work in providing out of reduced revenues for the obligations contracted by the College in days when

From a photograph by | *J. Palmer Clarke, Cambridge*

THE BATH IN THE COLLEGE GARDEN

Plate VIII

prosperity was at the door. He was Vice-Chancellor in 1885-86, and overtaxed his strength thereby. He died at the Lodge 15 September 1887, after winning in his short Mastership the affection of all with whom he had to work.

He was succeeded as Master by the writer of this sketch of the history of the College.

The following are some of the noteworthy members of the College, not already mentioned, who belong almost entirely to the latter half of the century:

Harry Mengden Scarth, Prebendary of Wells, an authority on the Roman occupation of Britain; Joh. Ball, traveller and naturalist, Hon. Fellow 1888; Joh. Purchas, editor of the *Directorium Anglicanum*, prosecuted, condemned, and suspended for ritualism at St. James's, Brighton, where he, nevertheless, officiated till his death; Geo. Drury, Rector for fifty years of Claydon, a very energetic member of the same party; Fre. Gell, formerly of Trinity, Fellow 1843-60, Bishop of Madras 1860-99; Cha. Hen. Middleton-Wake, an authority on early printing, Sandars Reader in Bibliography 1896; Alb. Hen. Wratislaw, Fellow 1844-53, Head Master of Bury St. Edmunds, and a distinguished Sclavonic scholar; Will. Mandell Gunson, Fellow 1847-81, remarkable for his work as Tutor 1851-70, which left its mark on the history of the College; Sam. Cheetham, Fellow 1850-66, Hon. Fellow 1883, Archdeacon of Rochester, one of the editors of the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities;* Hen. Cheetham, Bishop of Sierra Leone 1870-82; Joh. Sheepshanks, Bishop of Norwich 1893; Jos. Wolstenholme, formerly of St. John's, Fellow 1852-69, an eminent mathematician; Tho. Wetherherd Sharpe, C.B., formerly of Trinity, Fellow 1852-58, long senior of school inspectors; Cha. Stuart Calverley, Fellow 1857-63, writer

of the wittiest society-verses, hero of superhuman jumps and climbs, the most loving of friends, and most worthy of love; Joh. Rob. Seeley, Fellow 1858-69, Hon. Fellow 1883, Professor of Modern History, whose writings have helped to link together the British Empire; Sir Walt. Jos. Sendall, K.C.M.G., Governor of Cyprus and of British Guiana; Walt. Will. Skeat, Fellow 1860 and 1883, Professor of Anglo-Saxon, and Doctor of six Universities; Art. Sweatman, Bishop of Toronto; Sir Walter Besant, the historian of Old London; Joh. Wesley Hales, Fellow 1860-67, Professor of English at King's College, London; Sam. Lee, the translator of Virgil; Ja. Bell Cox, of St. Margaret's, Liverpool; Sir Joh. Jardine, K.C.I.E., Judge of High Court, Bombay; Arch. Hen. Simpson, Fellow 1865-82, Judge of Probate and Equity, Sydney, N.S.W.; Hen. Burton Buckley, Fellow 1868-82, a Justice of the High Court; Joh. Fletcher Moulton, Q.C., M.P., formerly of St. John's, Fellow 1868-75; Tho. Northcote Toller, Fellow 1872-75, Professor of English at the Owens College, Manchester; Ja. Smith Reid, Fellow 1869-72, Professor of Ancient History; Percy Gardner, Fellow 1872-74, Hon. Fellow 1897, Lincoln Professor of Archæology, Oxford; Sir Joh. Winfield Bonser, Fellow 1870-79, Chief Justice of Ceylon; Tho. Wortley Drury, Principal of Ridley Hall; Phil. Kemball Fyson, Bishop of Hokkaido, Japan; Hugh Ja. Foss, Bishop of Osaka, Japan; Sir Jos. Turner Hutchinson, Chief Justice of Granada; Ri. Green Moulton, eminent as an Extension Lecturer, Professor of English, Chicago; Hen. Newell Martin, Fellow 1874-80, late Professor at the Johns Hopkins University, U.S.A.; Arch. Liversidge, Professor of Geology, Sydney, N.S.W.; Fre. Hen. Chase, Principal of the Clergy Training College, Cambridge; Sydney Howard Vines,

Fellow 1876-87, Hon. Fellow 1897, Sherardian Professor of Botany, Oxford; Joh. Geo. Adami, Professor of Pathology, Montreal; Jos. Armitage Robinson, Fellow 1881-99, late Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Canon of Westminster; Harry Marshall Ward, Fellow 1883-89, Hon. Fellow 1897, Professor of Botany; Will. Robertson Smith, formerly of Aberdeen, Fellow 1885-94, Professor of Arabic, one of the very ablest men ever numbered in this Society.

The chief events in the latest history of the College have been:

1. The erection in 1888-89 of a new building with sets of rooms for two Fellows and twenty-four undergraduates, partly in the old garden bought in Dr. Hawford's time and attached to the Lodge, partly in Swann's Yard, Hobson Street, bought in 1882. The building, which is of Ketton and Ancaster stone, and externally corresponds with the Fellows' Building of 1642, was designed by J. J. Stevenson, the architect of the Chemical Laboratory; the builder was T. Bentley, of Waltham Abbey. It cost less, set for set, than the very inferior building of 1823. At the same time two houses in Hobson Street were taken into the College, and converted—No. 1 into a tutor's house, and No. 2 into five sets of rooms for undergraduates. The idea of the Society was that at some future time these houses might be replaced by a block of buildings, meeting at right angles an extension to Hobson Street of the block above mentioned. In the meantime the ground which was still vacant was turned into a lawn-tennis court; and somewhat later two fives courts were erected out of the funds of the amalgamated College Clubs.

2. The building in 1895-96 of a new Library by the

Messrs. Kett, from the designs of G. F. Bodley, A.R.A. By this the west front of the College was extended to Christ's Lane. On the upper floor the ancient windows of the old part of the front were restored: two small oriels were introduced on the west side, and one at the south end; and a handsome bay-window on the east side. A great Library, 83 feet long, with an anteroom, occupies the upper floor. On the ground-floor, the second room of the old Library has been turned into a reading-room for the students of the College; the lecture-room beyond it at the corner of the building is still a lecture-room; and southward is a large new lecture-room. All these rooms also are nearly filled with books, including several scientific periodicals, the gift of Geo. Henslow, B.A. 1858. In the upper room are the most valuable books of the Library as it existed in 1850, and the important legacies of the last half-century: that of Mr. Fraser, a collection of chronicles, histories, and memoirs in English, French, and Italian; that of Joh. Hutton, of Marske Hall, Richmond, given by his brother Timothy, of Clifton Castle, in 1861, which contains about fifty MSS. (Arabic, Persian, and Hindustani) and some splendid editions of uncommon books; that of Cha. Lesingham Smith, Fellow 1830-40, Rector of Little Canfield (mathematical); that of Mr. Gunson (classical); and that of Canon Scarth (see p. 289), archæological. With these is the even more important legacy of Prof. Robertson Smith. His library will be kept "living" by the interest of a sum of money raised as a memorial of him by his friends and devoted to this purpose. The cost of the entire work was more than £6,000, of which about £3,200 was given by past and present members of the College.

3. The restoration (1899) of the Chapel, under the direction of Mr. Bodley. The plaster which hid the rafters of the original roof has been removed, and the roof has been painted and gilded with conspicuous success. The bare walls have been treated with sober colour. The top of the reredos of 1702 has been replaced; it had been removed in 1848 to exhibit better Miss Burney's painted glass, which (not quite unfortunately) is a gradually fading memorial. Earlier in the year the oratory of the Foundress on the first floor of the Lodge was again connected with the Chapel by a window, which had been blocked up (see p. 212). The oratory has been carefully restored, an old stone fireplace and the oak panelling being brought again to light, and the latter repainted in its original colouring, with the star on each panel, which gave the room its old name of the "Star Chamber." The cost of all this work has been defrayed by private liberality.

4. The new Statutes of 1895, the fourth code under which the writer has lived. No great changes were effected thereby, but many ambiguities and other small sources of difficulty were removed; these arose chiefly from the fact that the Statutes of 1882 were not drafted by the Society, but by one of the Commissioners, who very courteously reduced to form certain resolutions, which were all that the Society had time to shape in the closing days of 1878. It was found at last simplest to rewrite, and to some extent to rearrange, the existing Statutes. But the changes in substance are not so great as might be expected from the rather startling preamble:

"We, the Master, Fellows, and Scholars of the said College, in exercise of the powers given us by the 54th

section of the said Act [1877], do hereby alter and amend the Statutes framed by the said Commissioners . . . in the following manner, viz.:

"By repealing the whole of the Statutes so framed . . . and by substituting therefor the following Statutes, to form an amended body of Statutes."

It may be thought that Colleges, if unanimous, may find it even too easy in these days to alter their Statutes. The shade of Bishop Graham is avenged!

I have tried to give (so far as the material served) an adequate picture of a College, never unimportant in Cambridge, during the first three and a half centuries of its existence: I have touched very briefly on its history in the century now ending, though that has been not undistinguished by a persistent striving for greater usefulness. I might perhaps have done more in the way of clear and complete presentment of my subject, had space permitted. I have tried to show something of the struggles of God's House and of the first half century of Christ's College: of the Marian reaction; of the Puritan spirit in Elizabethan days, mixed with the Roman Catholic element still surviving: of the busy seventeenth century, when the College was filled with men of note, both Royalist and Parliamentarian: of the vicissitudes of the Great Civil War: of the speculations of Cudworth and More and of their precursor Mead: of the decadence during the eighteenth century, redeemed in part by Law and Paley. College life is generally a reflexion of the history of the nation: it

reflects the energy and the aspirations of stirring times: in less noble days it supplies only a series of trivial details. But these should not be ignored: they make dull reading: but they represent one phase in the history of a College: and I trust that those who desire to know something of the life lived within these walls from the earliest time, may find in each stage some little interest. I feel that I may be liable to blame for giving sometimes little more than mere lists of names without facts enough to make them live to my readers: but it was impossible within my limits to do more: and even in the shortest narrative it was, I think, right to do so much. Those who would know more of the history of our predecessors will, I hope, find what they desire in the larger work (mentioned in my preface) on which I have been long engaged.

APPENDIX I

I GIVE a brief list of lands, etc., not part of the original endowment of the College, but purchased in the first century:

1547. Land at Lytylton (Littlington), Cambs.
Land at Fulmere (Foulmire), Cambs.

1553. Rectory of Caldecot.

1560. Manor of Harlestones at Cottenham; also a messuage (called Matthews) in exchange for land at Ickworth, belonging to Bromhill Priory.

1568. Manor of Burgoynes at Impington; and two closes four years later.

1571. Land (about 70 acres) at Meldreth, Cambs.

1578. Land at Great Gransden (sold or exchanged soon after).

1583. Land at Long Stanton (rent £25); probably sold about 1591, and the Manor of Wynselowes (Winslows), Cottenham, bought with the proceeds.

1593. Advowson of Toft, bought of Joh. Haggar, of Bourne, in exchange for a lease of land at Meldreth. Also the Priory Manor, and Brook Close.

After this time the purchase of land seems to have ceased till the present century. Gifts of land or money for scholarships, of advowsons or of money to buy advowsons, have been recorded in the preceding chapters.

APPENDIX II

This book would be incomplete without a record, however brief, of those who have played a prominent part in the social and athletic life of the University.

Members of the College who have held office at the Union are: E. Romilly, Secretary 1825, Treasurer 1826; C. G. Burke, Secretary 1833, Treasurer and President 1834; H. Bullock, Treasurer 1835; R. N. Philipps, Secretary, Treasurer, and President 1837; E. T. Arden, Secretary 1859; J. F. Moulton, Vice-President and President 1868 (then of St. John's), Treasurer 1870-73; R. T. Wright, Secretary and Vice-President 1868, President 1869; J. D. Fitzgerald, Secretary 1869, Treasurer 1873-76; I. Davis, Vice-President 1869; H. N. Martin, Secretary 1874, Vice-President and President 1875; E. A. Parkyn, Secretary 1880, Vice-President and President 1881; C. F. G. Masterman, Vice-President 1895, President 1896.

The history of the College Boat Club for seventy years has been excellently told in two numbers of the College Magazine (Lent and Easter Terms, 1899) by the present first-boat captain, G. T. Atchison, son of an oarsman of the College, A. T. Atchison, who rowed in a University

trial-boat in 1869. A chart of the position of the College boats in the races from the earliest time gives at a glance information of great interest to all members of the College both past and present. In the old happy-go-lucky days of boat-racing the line in the chart is like the top of an Alpine ridge, with sharp peaks and hollows. In May 1833 the boat rose to be head of the river; and promptly fell till it was taken off altogether in 1835. It rose again quickly, and reached its highest average between 1850 and 1856, being fourth through the May races of 1853. It was high in the later sixties: sank woefully during the next fifteen years: and rose again between 1881 and 1884, thanks chiefly to C. W. Moore and J. H. Mallinson: in the earlier nineties it fell again, and since 1896 it has retrieved its old position. Members of the club who have rowed against Oxford are: J. Royds (1842), W. S. Lockhart (1845), W. H. Lowe (1868, 1870, 1871), F. J. Young (1869), G. M. Robinson (1872), C. W. Moore, President of the C. U. B. C. 1883 (1881-84). The Magdalen pairs were won in 1853 by R. Gordon and J. B. Barlee (who also won the silver goblets at Henley), in 1856 by R. Gordon and P. H. Wormald, in 1867 by E. Hopkinson and H. Hebert. In the University trials (besides the oarsmen already mentioned) there rowed J. Jones in 1862; C. Bromby, 1865-66; W. Fisher, 1886; J. H. Kempson, 1890-91; W. Thomas, 1890; A. de W. Snowden, 1893.

It seems from a story told in "Boating," page 37 (Badminton Library), that the "light blue" of Cambridge is due to an old Christ's man, Dr. R. N. Philipps, Recorder of Pontefract, who paid many a visit to Cambridge in the seventies to watch over our boat. At some early race at Putney (presumably for practice) the rowers had no colours. Philipps, who was there, ran off to buy the needful ribbon, and "Eton ribbon for luck" was the choice of the moment.

The record of cricket (as represented by Blues) is short. I am not sure that it is complete. T. Collins (for long headmaster of Newport) played against Oxford in 1863, and T. F. Fowler in 1864. In 1882 J. R. Watson bowled against the Australians in the famous match at Cambridge —the match of the three brothers Studd; but he did not play against Oxford. G. L. Jessop played 1896-99, and in the last year was captain of the C. U. C. C.

In Rugby football the College was represented by P. H. Clifford in 1876 and 1878; H. S. Cooper and A. St. Hill Gibbons in 1881; E. A. Douglas, 1882-84; W. P. Richardson, 1883; L. E. Stevenson, 1884-85; A. B. fforde, 1891; D. D. Robertson, 1892 (who played for Scotland against Wales); R. O. Schwarz, 1893; R. A. Brandram, 1896; M. A. Black, 1897-98; A. Hacking, 1898-99.

In the Association team B. G. Jarrett played 1875-78, being captain in 1877: and W. S. Masterman in 1899-1900.

From the annals of the Swimming Club it appears that A. T. Masterman was captain of the water-polo in 1891, secretary of the club 1892, and president 1893; G. Varley was president 1896; H. W. Masterman was in the polo team 1898-99.

In athletics H. C. L. Tindall ran in the $\frac{1}{4}$ mile 1883-6; in 1886, when he was President of the C. U. A. C., he also won the 100 yards: L. E. Stevenson put the weight in 1886; C. E. Green ran in the 3 miles, 1887, and 1 mile, 1888: A. W. Goodman in the 1 mile, 1894; C. de la Pryme was in for the hammer and the weight in 1895: and P. M. Shanks ran in the 100 yards and $\frac{1}{4}$ mile in 1900. Cross-country runners have been W. A. Rice in 1882-3, and C. E. Pumphrey 1899.

The golfers from this College have been D. D. Robertson, 1891-93; A. C. Robertson, 1893; and J. G. McCall, 1895.

In the C. U. R. V., C. B. Williams and R. H. Luce repre-

sented Cambridge in 1887-88—the first as captain of the four, and the latter as captain of the eight, in 1888.

Among chess players are to be reckoned E. L. Raymond, R. S. Topham, C. Warburton, and G. Varley.

I have to thank Mr. T. C. Fitzpatrick, Mr. H. Rackham and G. T. Atchison for help in the compilation of these lists.

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